If you don't believe it, I was talking to a young lady before. She had to run home to get her Social Security check because she is afraid somebody would steal it. She told me she gets \$208 and pays rent of two hundred some-odd dollars. Now, you tell me how in the devil can a women or anybody-she can't even feed herself. It costs me more to feed my dog.

Woman from the audience. They don't want us to have dogs now.

Mr. Gregory. I've got one.

The only point I really wanted to get off is that Social Security be taken off as income, and people that are paying rent are

being ripped off.

I'd like to add to that. We started a lottery in New York State, and, while Governor Rockefeller was in office, they had been using the lottery money for every Tom, Dick and Harry to go out and have a cup of coffee. The purpose of it when this was put into effect was to be used for educational purposes, and, that way, it would reduce everybody's taxes.

Now, Mr. Ford comes out trying to cut the income taxes from twenty some-odd billion dollars. By the same token, he wants to raise the gasoline taxes and you and you and me and a whole lot more of us that are living on fixed incomes, we will never see a dime out of this reduction in taxes. But we will have to pay the fifteen cents a gallon that they

want to put in there on top of it.

Now that we've got a few bucks, what is he going to do? Drain us, send us to the poorhouse or to a nursing home like these fellows they got in there now that are kill-

ing off our people?

Now, your Social Security. We are supposed to get a five per cent increase in July, is that right? Well, it seems to me that every time the senior citizen got an increase, had to wait a year or a year and a half or better because in the last six or seven years, the two previous raises that we got took over two years. But, by the same token, in 1967, Johnson had a law passed to raise everybody in the Senate and Congress including President Nixon's salary up \$100,000. The legis-lators up here in Albany increased every one of themselves up to \$15,000, and they did this within forty-eight hours. They put it in effect in less than a month. But, still in all, we have to sit back and twiddle our thumbs for a couple of bucks. Now, Mr. Ford-

The only thing I want to say now is Mr. Ford wants to give Cambodia and the other

side \$300,000,000.

My belief is charity begins at home. A lot of people in this country live in one-room shacks down in Tennessee and Virginia. This guy didn't want to hear it. We have a lot of people living right through Tennessee and Virginia and down there living in one-room shacks with four, five and six kids, and they can't get nothing. And they are starving to death. This man wants to go to work and give them \$300,000,000 in Cambodia. Let us all go after these people and tell them that charity begins at home.

In addition to that, Mr. Ford tells you to go out and buy a little car so you don't waste too much gas, but, by the same token, Mr. Ford and all the representatives in the

federal government are riding around with big limousines that suck up a gallon of gas when you turn the corner and that goes for the state and county. I think it's time we let them know about it.

Thank you.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 24, 1975

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, today is a day of particular significance. April 24, 1975, marks the 60th anniversary of the Armenian massacres, which saw the slaughtering of 800,000 to 1 million Armenians. At the same time, it is the National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man. I am happy to say that I cosponsored House Joint Resolution 148, a joint resolution to so designate this day. I feel that at this time it is appropriate to ask ourselves what are the factors that breed mass violence, and what are the solutions to this problem. I also feel that we can make a good start by reexamining the ideals that make up our way of life.

Individualism and politcal sovereignty are ideals that stand as cornerstones of modern democratic thought. And similarly, the pride in one's family, in one's cultural and ethnic roots, as well as one's nation, are concepts that certainly

deserve praise.

But at the same time, individual, family, and cultural differences all too often lead to conflict, which all too often lead to open aggression, and in turn, senseless violence. Add to these rather traditional concepts the more recent problems of overpopulation and subsequent food shortages, and the possibility of mass violence greatly increases.

We certainly do not have to look very far to see some current examples. Almost every day, terrorist groups carry out acts of senseless violence. In South Vietnam, we hear fears of a massive bloodbath with a Communist takeover of Saigon. And the recent inhumanities in Bangladesh and South Africa continue.

Yet, the problem does not lie in the concept of individualism itself. Nor does it lie in the cultural, ethnic, and national distinctions we find both inside and outside of national boundaries. For in striving for a strong, unified society, there is room for individualism: there is room for cultural differences; and there is room for political differences that fall short of violence.

There is no room, however, for mass ignorance which leads to misunderstanding and, in, turn, fear. Fear, that is, of anything that is minutely different from what we have come to know through prior personal experience.

Such ignorance and fear are surely a factor in the breeding of mass violence and the genocidal impulse. Yet, education itself is not the answer, for understanding stops far short of compassion. What also seems to be lacking is a strong sense of moral commitment. Simply understanding your fellow man does not necessarily mean having sympathy for his rights as a human being.

We are now in an era where we are finding it necessary to reexamine our societal institutions. Each part of society has a necessary function aimed at achieving the goal of societal harmony. What, then, is religion's role in a violent world? I think that the answer is obvious. The church's role is to help teach the moral values that are necessary for a civilized existence. The universities' role is to help educate in order to understand as well as respect what we have previously feared.

The fact that this day of national remembrance falls on the eve of the Bicentennial of our Nation's birth is, I feel, significant. It is time to reexamine the ideals that this Nation was founded on and ask ourselves if we are living up to them.

Individualism is not at the root of mass violence. It is, rather, the tool with which we can solve our conflicts which lead to aggression. For along with the concept of individualism goes the concept of individual rights and freedoms. The respect for our fellow man's freedoms can only start with the respect of our own. A greater understanding of our fellow man tempered with a morality that respects his rights as a human being is the necessary step away from uncivilized vio-

Solutions to the problem of mass violence and the genocidal impulse lie in relieving of economic disparities, for they lead to conflicts over hunger. They also lie in relieving educational disparities, for they lead to misunderstanding and ultimately intolerance. And finally, they lie in instituting a morality that transcends political, cultural, and individual differences. For in a society there is room for such differences. The recognition and respecting of their existence leads to societal unity. The intolerance of them leads to senseless violence.

SENATE—Monday, April 28, 1975

(Legislative day of Monday, April 21, 1975)

The Senate met at 12 noon, on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by Hon. PATRICK J. LEAHY, a Senator from the State of Vermont.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, we who are finite, temporal, and changeable open our lives for the indwelling of Thy spirit. We confess that without Thee our human strength and wisdom are insufficient for the urgent needs committed to us. Be with us, O Father, to guide us in actions great and small, that serving Thee with our whole heart and mind and strength, this Nation and all nations may achieve that peace and justice which is the nature of Thy kingdom.

And to Thee shall be the glory and the praise. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESI-DENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. EASTLAND).

The legislative clerk read the following

letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., April 28, 1975.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. PATRICK J. LEAHY, a Senator from the State of Vermont, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

JAMES O. EASTLAND, President pro tempore.

Mr. LEAHY thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, April 25, 1975, be approved.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

WAIVER OF CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the legislative calendar, under rule VIII, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 86, S. 818.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:
A bill (S. 818) to authorize U.S. payments to the United Nations for expenses of the United Nations peacekeeping forces in the Middle East, and for other purposes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read a third time, and passed, as follows:

8 818

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Department of State such sums as may be necessary from time to time for payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the United Nations peacekeeping forces in the Middle East, as apportioned by the United Nations in accordance with article 17 of the United Nations Charter, notwithstanding the limitation on contributions to international organizations contained in Public Law 92-544 (86 Stat. 1109, 1110).

BILL McGAFFIN

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it was not until I was reading the Record over the weekend that I became aware that an old friend, a great reporter, a key investigator, Mr. Bill McGaffin, of the Chicago Daily News, had passed away.

At this time, I wish to express my deep sense of loss and my feeling of regret and to extend to Bill's family my wife's and my deepest sympathy and condo-

lences.

Bill McGaffin was a gentleman in the real sense of the word, but that did not keep him from being a good investigative reporter. He was respected and admired by all Members of the Senate. I feel deeply and personally the loss of Bill McGaffin, because I believe he contributed much to the well-being of the fourth estate and to a better understanding of Congress and the Capital, which he covered so assiduously, and so well.

May his soul rest in peace.

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. Mr. President, will the distinguished majority leader yield? Mr. MANSFIELD Yes indeed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes, indeed. Mr. HUGH SCOTT. Mr. President, I had learned of the passing of our friend, Bill McGaffin, and I have written a let-

ter of condolence to his family.

I take this opportunity to join the distinguished majority leader in paying tribute to a journalist who was a great writer and who was, in addition, a fine reporter of events as they occurred, who was a perfect gentleman, whose fairness was notable, a gentleman whom we all trusted and with whom I had never had a disagreement, and a man who will be sorely missed because of his fine qualities.

I extend my condolences to his family, also, and I thank the distinguished majority leader for bringing up this matter.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN REFUGEES

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. Mr. President, we are still in the midst of a serious situation in Southeast Asia. The number of Americans now there is below 900. The number of South Vietnamese evacuated has been considerable, compared to the number who would like to leave and thereby vote with their feet.

A substantial number of South Vietnamese whose survival otherwise would be at stake have been able to leave the country, some by commercial airlines, some by their own efforts, some by their

own small boats or by the vessels of others, or by going over boundary lines. Some inevitably will be left to a tragic fate

The Committee on the Judiciary meets at 2:30 to consider the matter of 279 orphans who come in under a category in excess of 2,000 orphans we have already approved to the Judiciary Department for admission to this country. More than a third of these orphans are being brought out by the Catholic Relief Society, and the remainder by two other relief organizations. We undoubtedly will increase the amounts well past the 279 to admit other orphans into this country.

I urge Americans to open their hearts to these refugees, particularly to the children. I urge Americans, also, to consider how they can help by making contributions to the Vietnamese and Cambodian refugee relief funds. America always has opened its heart—to the Hungarians, to the Cubans, to Bangladesh, to Nigeria, to India, to all parts of the world that has seen this suffering of displaced and oppressed peoples.

I am not going to ask others to do what I am not willing to do, myself. I think it is sufficient to mention this simply because I do not want to be in a position of politicians telling other people what to do. But I hope the Americans will make it possible for these people to

be resettled.

The United States will arrange for a resettlement in perhaps three or more resettlement bases in different geographical parts of the country. The States represented by those who are so filled with the goodness of mankind and so concerned about the rights of mankind need not fear too great an influx in any one State. This is where some vaunted liberal principles have broken down, I am afraid, where there is the fear of job displacement.

We brought 650,000 Cubans into this country, and they have become the heart and soul of Florida in many of its industries, businesses, and other supportive activities. The Hungarians have contributed greatly to our country and to its strength. I was at the Hungarian refugee relief camp outside of Rome on Christmas Day, to celebrate Christmas with these Hungarians.

I would like these people coming to the United States to feel that we want them, that we welcome them, that we are glad they were able to escape to freedom. But I do not want to be a part of any of this niggling or nit-picking about, "Don't send them to my State." I would be glad to see those come to Pennsylvania who wish to come to Pennsylvania and to be a part of our life, and we will welcome them.

Our hearts go out to them; and our hearts go out even more to those who may be killed because they cannot get out.

ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will

now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, for not to exceed 30 minutes, with statements therein limited to 5 minutes each.

REFUGEE PROBLEM

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I have serious reservations about the plans being discussed to bring as many as 130,000 South Vietnamese refugees to the United States. I have heard figures ranging all the way from 130,000 to 174,000 to a million to a million and a half.

Humanitarian motives, I am sure, prompt those who favor this kind of undertaking, but in my judgment some very practical considerations raise grave doubts about the wisdom of bringing any sizable number of evacuees here.

Our relations with the South Vietnamese from the beginning have been hampered by the vast cultural differences that exist between our two countries—and this difficulty cannot be ignored when it is proposed to remove permanently large numbers of South Vietnamese citizens from their homeland. The fact that more than 8 million Americans are unemployed, and that our own country is experiencing an economic recession, does not add to the prospect for success of such a program, carried out in great magnitude.

A number of South Vietnamese themselves have voiced objections to the departure of large numbers of their fellow citizens, especially when the refugees include professional and highly skilled workers such as doctors, pharmacists, and teachers.

The ramifications of the problem are intensified by the importance of family and relatives in Vietnamese life. In many instances it will be necessary not only to move members of an immediate family, but parents and other relatives as well.

The United States currently has a jobless rate of 8.7 percent, the highest since 1941; and our overall economic picture—the recession, inflation, national debt, gross national product—is far from bright. Adding well over 100,000 South Vietnamese refugees to that picture will not help the United States.

What is really tragic for the refugees, who have already suffered greatly, is that the situations in which they would find themselves in America seem destined to be crammed with disappointments and frustrations.

For the unskilled refugee, there seems little hope of finding gainful employment; our own unskilled workers face bleak futures. For the skilled and professional refugees, there seems to be only the prospect of underemployment; doctors, lawyers, and teachers could wind up doing the most menial work. And for all the refugees, the language-barrier is an added burden that will not be easily overcome.

Former South Vietnamese Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky warned his countrymen about going to the United States. In a weekend speech in Saigon, he pointed out the problems inherent in

migrating to a different culture—unemployment, underemployment, and the general difficulties of adjusting quickly enough to a transcultural experience.

One big point that has bothered me all along in this matter is the matter of the actual number of South Vietnamese citizens who may want to leave or who may be in peril. We have heard a good many different figures. The 130,000 figure now being heard was first a million and a half, then it was a million, then 174,000—all kinds of estimates have been stated.

Where do we draw the line? Do we simply bring out all who worked for or with the Americans? Do we remove all who had a connection with the South Vietnamese Government? Do we evacuate only high officers of their armed forces? Or do we seek to provide asylum for all who fought against the Communists?

If large numbers are endangered, then other countries as well as our own should open their gates to them, especially those countries that have cultural similarities to Vietnam. The U.S. State Department—to say nothing of the United Nations—ought to be moving in that direction.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there further morning business? Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. President, I sug-

gest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The second legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR THE SENATE TO STAND IN RECESS EACH DAY FROM TODAY TILL THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1975

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business each day from today through Thursday, it stand in recess until the following day.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SEN-ATOR JAVITS TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that after Mr. Taff is recognized tomorrow under the order previously entered, Mr. Javits be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.
Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President,
I suggest the absence of a guorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE EVACUATION IS TOO SLOW

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I would like to spend just a few moments talking about the evacuation reports from South Vietnam, the number of Americans who remain there, the rate of evacuation, and the possible reasons for so many Americans remaining there.

In spite of the increasingly dangerous situation, the number of Americans being brought out has slowed to something less than a trickle. The net reduction, for the 24-hour period ending midnight Saturday is 65 American citizens. In the meantime, more than 6,600 South Vietnamese were evacuated in the same period. The preceding 24-hour period was not much better—a net reduction of just 76 American citizens. So in the last 48 hours the number of Americans remaining in South Vietnam was reduced by 141.

We actually have evacuated somewhat more than that, but the Embassy has become aware of additional American citizens in the country, so that the net reduction is only 141.

At this rate, it will take us 2 weeks to complete the evaluation of American citizens.

Over 950 Americans are still there, and this does not include Vietnamese dependents of American citizens. For reasons that are not clear, the State Department has not released the figures on dependents for 4 days; but the last report indicated that there were several hundred alien dependents of American citizens still in Vietnam.

The military situation in South Vietnam has changed a great deal in the last few hours. Tan Son Nhut Airport apparently was attacked. However, it is still open, and it is still possible to continue evacuation efforts by fixed-wing aircraft out of Tan Son Nhut. If the airport is closed, evacuation will have to be by helicopter, more dangerous and more difficult. And we know that the more Americans and dependents remaining, the greater the risk will be.

Why, then, is the administration leaving such a large number of Americans in South Vietnam? There has been no explanation. No one contends that it takes more than 500 to run the mission there. Yet we have twice that many there right now.

I do not have the answers, but I would raise some questions

Are Americans being left in Saigon to provide an excuse for evacuating South Vietnamese?

Are we leaving Americans there as a kind of "bargaining chip" with North Vietnam?

What are the reasons?

Again, I do not know the answers. But it seems to me that in these finals hours—when we know that at any moment the government and the army could collapse, when we know that at any moment the one remaining outlet for mass evacuation, Tan Son Nhut Airport, could be shut off—we ought to be putting some Americans on the planes with the South Vietnamese. We ought to be able to get

out more than 141 citizens in 48 hours. That is just not adequate.

I share the view that we ought to bring out as many South Vietnamese as possible, I do not think we ought to keep Americans there at the same time. If this legislation (S. 1484) we passed Friday afternoon is approved by the House of Representatives today or tomorrow, the President will have the authority to go in with U.S. military forces to bring out South Vietnamese along with American citizens. One cannot help but speculate whether Americans are being left there for the purpose of bringing out more South Vietnamese.

So, Mr. President, I hope that the Members of the Senate and the Members of the House of Representatives will watch the evacuation figures very closely in the next 24 hours, and that we will continue to demand that the nonessential Americans still in South Vietnam be brought home as soon as possible.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR THE TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS AND CONSIDERATION OF SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 32-TO-MORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, after the orders for the recognition of Senators for 15-minute speeches have been consummated, there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business of not to exceed 30 minutes, with statements limited therein to 5 minutes each and, at the conclusion of routine morning business, the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution 32.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Heiting, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. Leahy) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate pro-

ceedings.)

APPROVAL OF BILL

A message from the President of the United States received today stated that the President had approved and signed the enrolled bill (S. 994) to authorize supplemental appropriations to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for fiscal year 1975.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 1:30 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives delivered by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clearks, announced that the House disagrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 4481) making emergency employment appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975, and for other purposes: agrees to the conference requested by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon; and that Mr. MAHON, Mr. WHITTEN, Mr. SIKES, Mr. PASSMAN, Mr. EVINS of Tennessee, Mr. BOLAND, Mr. FLOOD, Mr. STEED, Mr. SLACK, Mr. McFall, Mr. Yates, Mr. Cederberg, Mr. MICHEL, Mr. CONTE, Mr. MYERS Of Indiana, and Mr. MILLER of Ohio were appointed managers of the conference on the part of the House.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM EXECU-TIVE DEPARTMENTS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore (Mr. Leahy) laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

PROPOSED SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE COMMISSION ON FEDERAL PAPERWORK

A communication from the President of the United States transmitting proposed supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1975 in the amount of \$100,000 for the Commission on Federal Paperwork (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Appropriations.

PROPOSED SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION FOR THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

A communication from the President of the United States transmitting a proposed supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year 1975 in amounts totaling \$535 million for the Veterans' Administration (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Appropriations.

ORDER FOR STAR PRINT OF COM-MITTEE REPORT (REPT. NO. 94-66)

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a star print be ordered of the Government Operations Committee report on S. 200, dated April 9, 1974. This is in order to include two rollcall votes on amendments considered by the committee during its consideration of the Consumer Protection Act, as required by section 133 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended. These two rollcall votes were inadvertently omitted from the report on S. 200. This is the only change that will be made in the committee report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. 1543. A bill to amend the third proviso of section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, as amended. Referred to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. MAGNUSON (for himself and Mr. Pearson) (by request):

S. 1544. A bill to amend the act of August 16, 1971, as amended, which established the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere, to increase and extend the appropriation authorization thereunder. Referred to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. BUMPERS:

S. 1545. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 with respect to peanuts. Referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. JACKSON:

S. 1546. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to prevent discrimination against the Armed Forces of the United States in the supply of petroleum products, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

STATEMENT ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. 1543. A bill to amend the third proviso of section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, as amended. Referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I introduce today a bill to assure compliance with the Jones Act in the Alaska trade, and to prevent the increasingly serious diversion of cargoes from United States ports and U.S.-flag carriers operating in the trade. The third proviso of the Jones Act was part of the language of the act as originally passed. The proviso specifically excluded Alaska.

In 1958, the Congress passed the Alaska statehood bill. This bill amended the third proviso to include Alaska. The Congress made clear that the purpose of the amendment was to extend to Alaska the provisions of the Jones Act. The Congress has reaffirmed its intent in this regard by denying requests for amendments to the act to allow foreign-flag vessels to operate in the Alaska trade.

Despite the clear intent of the Congress that the Jones Act apply to Alaska, the third proviso of the act is being used to shift cargoes from U.S. ports to Canadian ports and to foreign-flag vessels for transportation to Alaska. A substantial increase in the number of these services and thus of the amount of cargo shifted is expected. The Canadian National Railway advertises service aboard its trains to Canadian ports and thence to Alaska. The railway is planning to increase this service with new vessels, and new routes through Canada.

The ports of Washington State, including particularly Seattle and Tacoma, are the major ports of loading and discharge for cargoes to and from Alaska. Moving Alaska cargo through Canadian ports

has had a serious impact on Washington State ports, and on other U.S. ports, and on the U.S.-flag carriers serving those ports. But I believe, Mr. President, that the greater danger to U.S. ports comes from the threatened proliferation of foreign-flag transportation in conjunction with Canadian rail movements. The additional foreign services will displace substantial U.S.-flag tonnage presently moving in the trade, and will shift to Canadian ports, and away from U.S. ports, up to 100,000 tons of cargo a year. These shortages will have a severe impact on U.S. ports. Further, the growth of Canadian movements will likely cause curtailment of water services at U.S. ports.

The legislation I propose, Mr. President, will not have any impact on existing services. This is not to say that I do not have serious reservations about the propriety of some of these services under the existing provisions of the Jones Act. I do have serious reservations. The Congress did not, and did not intend to, exempt Alaska from the Jones Act by the amendment in the Alaska statehood bill. Some people have improperly construed the 1958 amendment as an exemption from the act. My bill reaffirms the purpose of Congress to apply the Jones Act to trade between Alaska and other States.

However, I do not believe, Mr. President, that companies presently operating in this trade should be forced out of business. The greater danger to U.S. ports, such as Seattle, and to U.S.-flag carriers—and therefore my greater concern—is with the proliferation of new foreign vessels and foreign rail services which make a mockery of the provisions of the Jones Act in the Alaska trade. This danger is immediate and is substantial. The impact upon U.S. ports and U.S.-flag carriers will be severe.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill as introduced be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1543

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the third proviso of section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920 (46 U.S.C. 883), as amended, be amended by deleting the semicolon after the word "facilities", and adding the following words: "With regard to Alaska, the exception of this proviso shall apply only to those services offered as of January 1, 1975:".

By Mr. MAGNUSON (for himself and Mr. Pearson) (by request): S. 1544. A bill to amend the act of August 16, 1971, as amended which established the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere, to

increase and extend the appropriation authorization thereunder. Referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I introduce by request, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the act of August 16, 1971, as amended, which established the National Advisory Committee on

Oceans and Atmosphere, to increase and extend the appropriation authorization thereunder, and ask unanimous consent that the letter of transmittal and statement of purpose and need be printed in the RECORD with the text of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill and material were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1544

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 7 of the Act of August 16, 1971, as amended (Public Law 92-125, 85 Stat. 344; Public Law 92-567, 86 Stat. 1181), is amended to read as follows: "There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of Commerce, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and for each of the two fiscal years immediately thereafter, such sums, not to exceed \$400,000; and for each of the fiscal years 1976, 1977, and 1978, such sums, not to exceed \$445,000, as may be necessary for expenses incident to the administration of this Act, and for succeeding fiscal years only such sums as may be authorized by law."

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, Washington, D.C., March 19, 1975, Hon. Nelson A. Rockefeller, President of the Senate, U.S. Senate,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Enclosed are six copies of a draft bill "to amend the Act of August 16, 1971, as amended, which established the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere, to increase and extend the appropriation authorization thereunder," together with a statement of purpose and need in support thereof.

We have been advised by the Office of Management and Budget that there would be no objection to the submission of our draft bill to the Congress, and further that enactment would be in accord with the program of the President.

Sincerely.

FREDERICK B. DENT, Secretary of Commerce.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND NEED

The National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere (NACOA) was established by Public Law 92-125, approved August 16, 1971. NACOA consists of 25 non-Federal members appointed by the President from State and local governments, industry, science and other appropriate sources having an interest and expertise in oceanic and atmospheric affairs. NACOA has the mandate to (1) to perform a continuing review of the progress of the Nation's marine and atmospheric science and service programs and to report to the President and the Congress. annually, its findings and recommendations on marine and atmospheric affairs, and (2) to advise the Secretary of Commerce specifically with respect to the carrying out of the purposes of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Public Law 92–125 assigned NACOA's support functions to the Secretary of Commerce. It was amended in October 1972, by Public Law 92–567, to raise the level of authorization to \$400,000 per year for the three fiscal years 1973–75, and in the following fiscal years, such funds as the Congress authorizes.

In fulfilling its mandate, NACOA has assumed a highly active mode of operation, meeting 9-10 times a year in full session, and with ad hoc panels meeting, as the occasion demands, to develop special material for full NACOA consideration. Support of this level of activity, which in part accounts

for NACOA's value, requires a core staff of six professionals and four non-professionals. This was the basis for the authorization level provided for in 1972. The new authorization request merely extends this for three years, recognizes that earlier full-time assistance by other agency personnel has now been phased out, and provides small increases in succeeding years in anticipation of costs beyond NACOA's control.

This level of NACOA activity derives from NACOA's unique nature and responsibility. P.L. 92-125 examined in the perspective of its legislative history emphasizes NACOA's role of applying non-Federal expertise toward the development of a truly national effort viewed as a "partnership between government, industry, and the academic com-munity." NACOA collectively possesses the requisite industrial, academic, and lower-level government expertise for this purpose, but individually as non-Federal employees, each carries a special burden in becoming thoroughly familiar with the vast range of Federal and other programs, plans, and policies over the broad spectrum they are expected to assess. No reasonable staff level nor degree of cooperation from Federal agency observers and other representatives can substitute for a high level of activity on the part of the NACOA members themselves. The need for full-time professional staff stems from experience of what it takes to make this level of NACOA involvement efficient and productive. It is judged probable that attempting to provide a significant portion of the staff requirement by people on loan would either be less effective or require larger numbers, or both.

Enactment of this legislation would result in authorizations of \$445,000 for each of the

fiscal years 1976, 1977, and 1978.

By Mr. JACKSON:

S. 1546. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to prevent discrimination against the Armed Forces of the United States in the supply of petroleum products, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, for well over a year the permanent Subcommittee on Investigations has studied the relationship between the military and the major oil companies. Put simply, I would characterize it as a one-way relationship with the oil companies reaping the benefits and the military suffering the consequences.

Let me provide some illustrations.

Last week the subcommittee issued a study indicating that military buyers had overpaid for jet fuel by hundreds of millions of dollars. Military purchasers had failed to obtain the necessary back-up data to support prices asked for by the oil companies. They accepted, in many instances, first offers without any attempt at negotiation.

But the oil companies must share the blame. They refused to supply backup data when asked and balked at entering into contracts requiring consistent

cost accounting principles.

I have asked the Department of Justice to examine whether any overcharges can be recouped for the taxpayers. I have also asked the Federal Energy Administration to determine the basis for the overcharges.

Finally, I have requested the General Accounting Office to completely review military procurement practices and procedures.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these letters be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, the findings and recommendations of the subcommittee staff reflect insight into defects of military purchasing procedures.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the findings and recommendations of the staff study entitled "Procurement of Petroleum Products by the Military" be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without

objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, this staff study resulted from an ongoing investigation into the relationship between the major oil companies and the military.

In late December of 1974 this subcommittee learned that the military had reached an impasse with the major oil companies in contracting for its petroleum supplies for the following year, just days away. The oil companies refused to supply data to back up their prices and would not enter into contracts containing these clauses, and clauses requiring conformance to certain cost accounting standards. The military felt that it could not legally accept petroleum supplies without a contract even if offered by the oil companies.

Thus the uninterrupted flow of oil to the military and especially to strategic

overseas bases was threatened.

The subcommittee took an active role in trying to break this impasse and work out an accommodation between the parties. After I wrote the oil companies and urged them to meet their national responsibilities and enter into these critical contracts, a contract to continue to supply the Navy's Operation Deepfreeze in Antarctica with appropriate clauses requiring backup data and compliance with cost accounting standards was agreed upon.

But it was not before the major oil companies had implicitly threatened to

cut off supplies to the military.

And this was not the first time that the Armed Forces of the United States have faced a cutoff of oil and petroleum products for overseas operations with U.S. multinational oil corporations play-

ing a prominent role.

Last April the permanent Subcommittee on Investigations held hearings on the cutoff of oil to our military forces in the aftermath of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. The subcommittee's investigation probed a crucial question: the role of U.S. corporations in implementing a cutoff directed by foreign nations of vitally needed oil supplies to our military forces abroad at a time when our 6th fleet was still on alert.

It is imperative that the Armed Forces

of the United States never again be threatened with the cutoff of critical oil supplies. This is especially true where the suppliers are U.S. corporations which operate under the protection of the American flag. Legislation must spell out the duties and obligations of those responsible for providing defense needs.

Accordingly, today I introduce a bill which provides criminal sanctions for any individual or corporation who willfully discriminates in supplying petroleum products for the U.S. Armed Forces either within or outside the United States. This legislation covers not only a failure to perform contracts for the supplying of petroleum products as was the case in the aftermath of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, but also a refusal or failure promptly to enter into such contracts at appropriate prices in accordance with governing laws and regulations. This will take care of the situation where companies refuse to contract because they do not want to disclose data.

This bill provides that whenever the Secretary of Defense has reason to believe that there has been such discrimination against the Armed Forces of the United States by any citizen or corporation organized or operating within the United States or controlled by them with respect to contracts involving the furnishing of petroleum supplies, he shall immediately institute an investigation. If the Secretary of Defense determines that there has been discrimination he shall refer the matter to the Attorney General of the United States who is authorized to institute appropriate proceedings, including the enjoining of such discrimination. The amendment also provides that the Attorney General may file with the clerk of the district court a certificate of the Secretary of Defense stating that, in the Secretary's opinion, the proceeding is of critical importance to the effective operation of the Armed Forces of the United States and that immediate relief from the discrimination is necessary. Upon receipt of such a certificate, a panel of three judges shall be convened to immediately hear and make a determination in such proceedings. Convictions for such discrimination will carry penalties of a fine of \$100,000 or imprisonment for not more than 2 years, or both.

Other amendments to title 10 would cover jurisdiction, the right to inspect records, and other procedural matters.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments I propose to title 10, United States Code, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1546

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that Title 10 of the United States Code is amended as follows:

(1) Chapter 141 is amended by adding the following sections after section 2389. § 2390. Findings and declaration of purpose.

The armed forces of the United States operate world-wide in maintaining international peace and in protecting the interests of the United States. It is essential to the effective operation of the armed forces that they receive adequate supplies of petroleum products. Citizens of the United States and corporations organized or operating within the United States enjoy the benefits of the United States flag and the protection of the armed forces and owe allegiance to the United States. It is the purpose of sections 2391 thru 2396 of this chapter to provide a remedy against discrimination by citizens of the United States or corporations organized or operating within the United States, and by organizations controlled by them, against the Department of Defense in the supply of petroleum products.

§ 2391. Investigation of discrimination by the Secretary of Defense.

(a) No citizen of the United States or corporation organized or operating within the United States, or an organization controlled by United States citizens or corporations organized or operating within the United States, shall engage in discrimination in the supply, either within or outside the United States of petroleum products for the armed forces of the United States.

(b) The Secretary of Defense, whenever he has reason to believe that there has been such discrimination shall immediately insti-

tute an investigation.

(c) If, following such investigation, the Secretary of Defense determines that there has been such discrimination, he shall refer the matter to the Attorney General of the United States.

§ 2392. Jurisdiction of the United States courts.

The several district courts of the (a) United States are invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain such discrimination; and it shall be the duty of the several United States attorneys, in their respective districts. under the direction of the Attorney Gento institute proceedings to prevent and restrain such discrimination. Such proceedings may be by way of petitions setting forth the case and requesting that such discrimination shall be enjoined or otherwise prohibited. When the parties complained of shall have been notified of such petitions the court shall proceed, as soon as possible, to the hearing and determination of the case; and pending such petition and before final decree, the court may at any time make such temporary restraining order or pro-hibition as shall be deemed just in the premises.

(b) Whenever it shall appear to the court before which any proceeding under sub-section (a) of this section may be pending, that the ends of justice require that other parties should be brought before the court, the court may cause them to be summoned, whether they reside in the district in which the court is held or not; and supenas to that end may be served in any district by the marshal thereof.

(c) Any proceeding against a corporation may be brought not only in the judicial district whereof it is incorporated, but also in any district wherein it may be found or transacts business; and all process in such cases may be served in the district of which it is incorporated, or wherever it may be found.

(d) In any proceeding brought in any district court of the United States pursuant to this section, the Attorney General may file with the clerk of such court a certificate of the Secretary of Defense that, in his opinion, the proceeding is of critical importance to the effective operations of the armed forces of the United States and that immediate relief from the discrimination is necessary, a copy of which shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or, in his absence, the presiding circuit judge) in which the proceeding is pending. Upon receipt of the copy of such certificate, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge, to hear and determine such proceeding, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the proceeding for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the proceeding to be in every way expedited.

(e) In every proceeding brought in any district court of the United States under this section, an appeal from the final order of the district court will be only to the Supreme Court.

§ 2393. Inspection of records and furnishing of information.

For the purpose of the investigation instituted by the Secretary of Defense pursuant to section 2391, he, or his designee, shall at all reasonable times, have access to and the right to copy any book, account, record, paper, or correspondence relating to the business affairs of the person or corporation being investigated. Such person or corporation, upon demand of the Secretary of Defense, or his designee, shall furnish such information as the Secretary of Defense may require as to his or its business, organization, conduct, practices, management, and relation to other individuals, corporations, partnerships, associations and other entitles. § 2394. Definitions.

As used in Sections 2390-2393 of this

chapter:

- (a) The term "United States" when used in a geographical sense includes the several States, the possessions of the United States, the Canal Zone, and the District of Columbia.
- (b) The term "discrimination" means the refusal or failure promptly to enter into or perform contracts for the supply of petroleum products, at appropriate prices, in accordance with the laws and regulations of the United States governing the entering into and performance of such contracts when requested by the Secretary or his designee. § 2395. Penalties.

Any person or corporation who willfully discriminates as prohibited by Section 2391 shall, upon conviction, be fined not more than \$100,000 or imprisoned for not more than two years, or both.

§ 2396. Separability.

If any provision of sections 2390 thru 2396 or the applicability thereof is held invalid, the remainder of those sections shall not be affected thereby.

(2) The analysis of chapter 141 is amended by adding the following items after the

item for section 2389:

§ 2390. Finding and declaration of purpose. § 2391. Investigation of discrimination by

the Secretary of Defense. § 2392. Jurisdiction of United States courts.

§ 2393. Inspection of records and furnishing of information.

§ 2394. Definition.

§ 2395. Penalties.

§ 2396. Separability.

EXHIBIT 1

SENATE PERMANENT SUB-COMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS, Washington, D.C., April 24, 1975.
The Honorable Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General of the United States. My Dear Comptroller General: On January 22, 1975, I requested the General Accounting Office to examine data available to the Defense Supply Agency for the purpose of determining the appropriateness of exemptions to oil companies from supplying pricing data under the Truth in Negotiations Act, and the requirements of the Cost Accounting Standards Board. This request stemmed from inquiries being made by the Subcommittee on the the procurement of petroleum products by the Defense Fuel Supply Center.

These inquiries have now raised questions as to the effectiveness of the procurement practices being followed by the Fuel Center. In this regard I enclose a copy of the Subcommittee staff study on military oil purchases. In light of staff findings, I want to expand my previous request and ask that the General Accounting Office make a review of the procurement practices being followed by the Defense Fuel Supply Center including, but not limited to, the following:

1. Are the quantities which the Fuel Center of the procurement of the procurement of the following:

Are the quantities which the Fuel Center purchases based upon realistic require-

ments?

 Would it be more economical for the Fuel Center to procure petroleum products for periods of one year or longer rather than for six-months periods as at present?

3. Is it true that it is impossible for the military to estimate its requirements for petroleum products for more than six

months in advance?

4. Are the procurement personnel of the Center adequately trained and experienced in the negotiation of supplies contracts?

5. Is there a sufficient number of personnel available to analyze cost, pricing and market data and is an analysis of such material being used effectively in the negotiation of supplies contracts?

6. Do the contract files contain adequate documentation as to the negotiations on which contract awards are based?

7. Do the contract files contain adequate documentation to substantiate that the prices accepted are fair and reasonable and in the best interests of the Government?

8. Is the Fuel Center continuing to use trade publications data as a major item in the substantiation of prices paid?

9. Are contracts being executed where the contract price escalates directly with prices quoted in trade publications?

Of course your opinion on any other procurement practices would be greatly appreciated.

If you have any questions on this matter, please contact Subcommittee Chief Counsel Howard J. Feldman.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY M. JACKSON, Chairman.

SENATE PERMANENT SUBCOM-MITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS, Washington, D.C., April 24, 1975. Hon. Frank G. Zarb,

Administrator, Federal Energy Administration, New Post Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ZARB: The staff of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations has been making inquiries into the procurement of petroleum products by the Defense Fuel Supply Center of the Department of Defense with particular emphasis on the procurement of jet fuel for military aircraft. The staff findings are contained in the enclosed study.

The study discloses that the military has been paying substantially higher prices for jet aircraft fuel than the domestic airlines since October 1973, although the military was paying substantially lower prices than the airlines before that date.

It was further found that during 1974 and the early months of 1975, there was some concern in the Defense Department that the major oil companies who supply jet fuel both to the military and to domestic airlines might be loading a disproportionate amount of "pass through" charges on to the prices which they were charging the Government, This might explain, at least in part, why the Government prices were so much higher.

Although some correspondence was ex-

Although some correspondence was exchanged between the Department of Defense and the Federal Energy Administration on this subject in 1974, nothing has been done to determine definitively whether the major oil companies are including more "pass through" charges in the Government's prices than in the prices of other customers for jet fuel. It is, of course, possible that this same situation exists for the other petroleum products which the Government purchases.

Accordingly, by this letter, I am requesting that an investigation be made by FEA to determine whether the major oil companies are loading more "pass through" charges on to the Government prices for jet fuel and other refined petroleum products as opposed to prices charged other customers for these products. I would also like to request that this investigation be expedited and that a report of your findings be sent to this Subcommittee by June 15, 1975.

If you have any questions on this matter,

If you have any questions on this matter, please contact Subcommittee Chief Counsel Howard J. Feldman.

Sincerely,

HENRY M. JACKSON, Chairman.

SENATE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE
ON INVESTIGATIONS,
Washington, D.C., April 24, 1975.

Hon. Edward H. Levi, The Attorney General.

My Dear Mr. Attorney General: A recent staff study issued by this Subcommittee on the procurement of petroleum products by the military concludes that military buyers have overpaid for their oil purchasers.

The question of petroleum product pricing is indeed a complex one and, accordingly, I have written to the Federal Energy Administration requesting that they undertake an examination to determine whether prices charged the military by the oil companies were legal under the law and implementing regulations. Specifically, I have asked FEA to determine whether or not the major oil companies have disproportionately passed through to military higher costs for crude oil and other charges. If such costs were passed on to government purchases but not in accordance with the law, or regulations interpreting the law. I believe that the United States Government should seek to recoup these excess charges. To fully pursue this matter, I would like the Department of Justice to cooperate with the Federal Energy Administration, using all available resources to recover the taxpayers' monies.

Should you have any questions on this matter, please contact Subcommittee Chief Counsel Howard J. Feldman, who will be pleased to render any assistance.

Sincerely,

HENRY M. JACKSON, Chairman.

EXHIBIT 2

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Department of Defense, through the Defense Fuel Supply Center of the Defense Supply Agency will purchase in fiscal year 1975 approximately \$3.5 billion in petroleum products to service United States military forces throughout the world.

There are two ways to procure these

products. One is by advertised competitive bids. The other is by negotiated contracts.

By its very nature, the advertised bid method would generate competition and hopefully enable the government to obtain products at the most favorable price. Accordingly, ordinarily little or no cost or other data supporting the price of the winner of the competitive bid would be neces-

On the other hand, negotiated contracts are the result of a give and take process between the government's contracting officer and the potential contractor. As such the contracting officer must be able to obtain backup data for the contractor's pricegenerally called cost or pricing data—in order to satisfy himself of the reasonableness of the price charged. Such requirements for supporting data are codified in the so-called "Truth in Negotiations Act" and in the Armed Services Procurement Regulations. Waivers of such requirements are to be made only in exceptional cases.

As of January 1, 1973, all bulk purchases of petroleum products by the Defense Fuel Supply Center were made by advertised invitations for bid and by public awards. However, in May of 1973, procurement moved to a negotiated basis. After the Arab embargo of October 1973 and the passage of the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act in January 1974 these negotiated contracts were mandated.

Despite having procured products on a negotiated basis since May of 1973, DFSC did not request cost or pricing data from the oil companies until September, 1974. The oil companies refused to supply the data and an impasse resulted in December.

With the year drawing to a close and contracts running out, the controversy between the Department of Defense and the oil companies had reached the point that there arose the possibility that some petroleum supplies to the military might be interrupted. At this point the Subcommittee took an active role in assuring uninterrupted supplies as well as seeking an accommodation be-tween the Department of Defense and the oil companies.

In the course of its activities Subcommittee staff began to make an intensive review of the petroleum procurement policies of the military. The following are the staff's findings and recommendations:

FINDINGS

1. The Defense Fuel Supply Center, prior to 1973, had established a policy of buying petroleum products and particularly jet fuel for military aircraft on a short-term basis by advertised bids. This was done to obtain the lowest possible prices. This policy contained inherent risks if short supplies and rising prices were encountered. The DFSC failed to recognize in 1973 that a market change in this direction was imminent and DFSC failed to plan or provide for such a contingency.

2. DFSC purchasing personnel were ac-customed to handling advertised bids and had little training and experience in di-rect negotiations with suppliers. They were unprepared to negotiate with suppliers and thus obtain the lowest possible price for the government. Review of DFSC contract files by the Defense Supply Agency, the General Accounting Office and by the Subcommittee staff all disclosed a failure of DFSC personnel to document their price negotiations with suppliers as well as a failure to show how they determined price reasonableness. These conditions had been noted by the Defense Supply Agency in audits conducted in 1974 and before, and they continued throughout 1974. A General Accounting Office survey also found that in all

contracts reviewed for the November-December period of 1973 the contracting officer had accepted the first price offered by the petroleum supplier with no apparent evidence of any real negotiations.

3. Audits by Defense Supply Agency had disclosed a long-standing deficiency in DFSC's operations in its failure to have available qualified personnel to perform analyses of cost and pricing data and market data for use in determining price reasonableness. This deficiency existed long before 1973 and continued into 1975.

4. Prior to the fall of 1974. DFSC had continually failed to require potential contrac-tors to supply cost or pricing data under the Truth in Negotiations Act and the Armed Services Procurement Regulations and had consistently permitted contractors to avoid supplying such data by obtaining waivers for them even though the Act calls for such

waivers only in "exceptional cases."
5. Prior to the fall of 1974, DFSC had erroneously determined fair and reasonable prices to a large extent from trade publications rather than requiring potential contractors to submit backup data as required by law. Audits of DFSC by the Defense Supply Agency had repeatedly criticized DFSC for their failure to get proper data directly from the supplier and for reliance on trade publications data. Trade publications data in many cases does not represent real transactions but only bid and asked prices. DFSC persisted in using trade publication data to justify prices in July 1974 even though it was specifically instructed by DSA earlier in 1974 that this procedure was not proper.
6. In 1974, the procurement of petroleum

products by DFSC was governed by regula-tions and allocations of the Federal Energy Administration, but the personnel of DFSC failed to acquaint themselves with the regulations applicable to the purchases they were

making. 7. DFSC did not attempt to obtain in 1974 specific information from either oil companies or from the domestic airlines as to quantities and prices of jet fuel sold by major oil companies to the airlines to compare with the prices the major oil companies were charging the Government. DFSC proceeded in July 1974 to award contracts based on trade publications without data from suppliers despite DSA's recommendations to

the contrary. 8. The DFSC was aware as early as April 1974 that there was a possibility that the major oil companies might be loading a disproportionately heavy amount of through" costs on to Government contracts. There was some communication between the Defense Department and FEA on this matter, but it was not properly resolved. Both FEA and the Defense Department have been negligent in not resolving this matter which was the key to how prices to the government were being calculated. It was not until March 1975, after the Subcommittee had expressed its interest, that FEA issued instructions to its field auditors to begin an investigation of how "pass through" costs were allocated to military jet fuel.

9. The DFSC failed in 1974 to press for and obtain data which the oil companies had supplied to FEA on crude oil costs. This data would have been useful to DFSC purchasing personnel in making a determination as to the reasonableness of prices offered by oil

10. In the fall of 1974, when DFSC belatedly began to press for data from the oil companies which was required by law and was essential to determine the reasonable price of petroleum products, the oil companies refused to supply such data and placed the military in the position of either acceding to their demands or facing the threat of having

oil supplies interrupted, especially to strategic overseas locations.

11. By asking for a blanket waiver enabling all companies to be relieved of supplying cost or pricing data for all contracts for the last six months of 1974 because it was too late and the companies would not cooperate, DFSC was negligent in performing its responsibilities and ignored the statutory mandate to grant waivers only in "excep-tional cases" since it had been aware of this requirement for some time and had failed to timely request the companies to comply with the provision.

12. The failure of DFSC to provide protection in advance of heavy price increases; the failure of DFSC to attempt to inform itself as to comparable prices of jet fuel purchases by airlines; the failure of both FEA and DFSC to press vigorously for a determination as to whether DFSC's prices contained an excessive amount of "pass through" charges; and the general failure to obtain supporting data to determine the reasonableness of prices charged the government has cost the government millions of dollars in its

purchases of tet fuel.

13. Information furnished to the Subcommittee indicates that substantial reductions in prices of jet fuel were received by DFSC from the major oil companies in January 1974. No specific reasons for this reduction were advanced. The controversy over the submission of cost and pricing data and the continuing interest of the Subcommittee may have had some effect on the negotiations which resulted in these reductions. DFSC informed the Subcommittee that after the Subcommittee expressed its interest, previous offers made by supplies were reduced by \$32 million.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The audits by DSA, GAO and by the Subcommittee staff disclosed the continuing existence of long-standing deficiencies in procurement practices such as failure to forcecast and plan for significant market changes; failure to have qualified personnel trained in negotiation techniques and for cost, pricing and market data analysis; failure to properly document contract negotiations; and failure to obtain and report proper data to document the reasonableness of prices accepted which have cost the government millions of dollars. Therefore, it is recommended that:

1. GAO conduct a thorough examination into the procurement practices at the Defense Fuel Supply Center to determine what is being done to eliminate these long-standing deficiencies and improve procurement procedures.

2. The Federal Energy Administration make full and complete investigation into whether the major oil companies were and are presently charging disproportionate amounts of "pass through" charges to government contracts.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

At the request of Mr. TALMADGE, the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. Bumpers) was added as a cosponsor of S. 319, a bill to provide a natural gas priority for fertilizer and farm chemical producers.

S. 872

At the request of Mr. HATFIELD, the Senators from Michigan (Mr. PHILIP A. HART and Mr. GRIFFIN) were added as cosponsors of S. 872), a bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide that certain State conservation publica-

At the request of Mr. INOUYE, the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1219, the child care deduction legislation.

S. 1220

At the request of Mr. INOUYE, the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1220, a bill to amend the Social Security Act.

S. 1502

At the request of Mr. RIBICOFF, the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1502, the unemployment loan extension bill.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 65

At the request of Mr. INOUYE, the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HASKELL), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Hol-LINGS), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY), and the Senator from Utah (Mr. Moss) were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 65, to authorize and request the President to call a White House Conference on Women in 1976.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 29

At the request of Mr. Curtis, the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Nelson) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 29, expressing the sense of Congress regarding the annexation of the Baltic nations.

AMENDMENT SUBMITTED FOR PRINTING

TRANSFER OF CERTAIN LANDS IN MONTANA-S. 252

AMENDMENT NO. 382

(Ordered to be printed and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, in the past Senator Mansfield and I have jointly introduced a private bill to quiet title on some Montana land in the name of August Sobotka and Joseph J. Tomalino. This year my distinguished colleague, Senator Mansfield, introduced a bill for this purpose, but the description of the land is incorrect. I concur in urging prompt action on this legislation and submit an amendment to S. 252 to correct the description.

NOTICE OF HEARING

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, I desire to give notice that a public hearing has been scheduled for Monday, May 5, 1975, at 10:00 a.m., in room 2228 Dirksen Senate Office Building, on the following nomination:

William H. Stafford, Jr., of Florida, to be U.S. district judge for the northern district of Florida, vice David L. Middlebrooks, Jr., resigned.

Any persons desiring to offer testimony in regard to this nomination, shall, not later than 24 hours prior to such hearing, file in writing with the committee a

tions shall qualify for second-class mail request to be heard and a statement of their proposed testimony.

The subcommittee consists of the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. McClellan); the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HRUS-KA) and myself as chairman.

NOTICE OF HEARING

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Committee on Rules and Administration will hold a hearing on Wednesday, April 30, 1975, commencing at 2 p.m., in room 301, Russell Senate Office Building, on Senate Resolutions 60 and 110, introduced by Senator MIKE GRAVEL, and others, and relating to additional personal staff for Members of the Senate to assist them with their committee responsibilities. Any Member wishing to testify should contact William M. Cochrane, staff director, on extension 4-0275.

NOTICE OF HEARING ON FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Senate Committee on Aging will conduct a hearing on "Future Directions in Social Security" on May 1, at 9:30 a.m., in room 6226 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building.

The hearing will focus on the operations of the supplemental security in-

Senator Kennedy, who is keenly interested in the effective administration of the SSI program, will preside.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF HEARING

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations of the Government Operations Committee will hold hearings in Wilmington, Del., on May 5. The hearings, third in a series on the State and local effects of proposals to reduce energy consumption and increase energy resources, will begin at 9:30 a.m. The subcommittee has scheduled a full agenda of witnesses including the Governor of Delaware and numerous other officials. The hearings will be especially timely and helpful to the Congress in soliciting views on the local effects of various national energy policy proposals.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I want to bring to the attention of the Senate and the public that the hearing scheduled on April 30 to consider the nomination of Stanley K. Hathaway to be Secretary of the Interior will begin at 9:30 a.m. instead of 10 a.m. as originally scheduled.

Also, in accordance with the rules of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, I wish to advise my colleagues and the public that the following hearings have been scheduled before the committee for the next 2 weeks:

April 29: Full committee and national

fuels and energy policy study, 10 a.m., room 3110, hearing. Title III, re powerplant siting, of S. 984, Land Resource Planning Assistance Act, and S. 619, Energy Facilities Planning and Development Act.

April 29: House-Senate conference, 2 p.m., Room S221, Capitol, H.R. 25, sur-

face mining legislation.

April 30: Full committee, 9:30 a.m., room 3110, hearing. Nomination of Stanley K. Hathaway to be Secretary of Interior.

May 1: Indian Affairs Subcommittee, 10 a.m., room 3110, hearing. Information

hearing re Indian housing.

May 2: Environment and Land Resources Subcommittee, 10 a.m., room 3110, hearing. S. 984, Land Resources Planning Assistance Act, and S. 619, Energy facilities Planning and Development Act.

May 5: Energy Research and Water Resources Subcommittee, 10 a.m., room 3110, hearing. Information hearing on automotive research and development.

May 5: Senate Interior Committee and Public Works Committee, 10 a.m., room 4200, joint hearing. H.R. 3787 and H.R. 3130, re court decision relating to highway construction and environmental impact statement matter.

May 6: Minerals, Materials and Fuels Subcommittee, 10 a.m., room 3110, hearing. S. 391, to amend Federal Coal Leas-

ing Act of 1920.

May 6: Full committee, 2 p.m., room 3110, hearing. Nomination of Philip C. White to be an Assistant Administrator of Energy Research and Development.

May 7 and 8: Minerals, Materials and Fuels Subcommittee, 10 a.m., room 3110, hearing. S. 391, to amend Federal Coal Leasing Act of 1920.

May 9: Indian Affairs Subcommittee, 9:30 a.m., room 3110, hearing. S. 1327, submarginal lands bill.

May 9: Environment and Land Resources, 10 a.m., room undetermined, hearing. S. 393, Montana Wilderness study area bill.

May 12: Parks and Recreation Sub-

committee, 10 a.m., room 3110, hearing. S. 82, to repeal certain provisions of the act for the establishment of Assateague Island National Seashore; S. 98, to establish the Klondike Gold Rush Park; S. 150, to construct an Indian Art and Cultural Center; S. 313, to authorize exchange of lands at Guadalupe Mountains National Park; and 3. 466, to establish Franklin D. Roosevelt National Historic

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

HANDGUN REGULATIONS

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. President, the ever-rising crime rate in our urban areas has resulted in renewed demands that we pass strict legislation designed to control the availability of handguns. These demands are, of course, understandable because the connection between handguns and violence is graphic and direct.

I cannot, however, accept the argument that the solution is as simple as some would have us believe. I presented my own views on the subject in testimony submitted last week to the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency. I ask unanimous consent that my testimony be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TESTIMONY BY SENATOR JAMES L. BUCKLEY

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to express my views on the issue of gun control. I share the alarm of all Americans over the increasing rate of crime in our country. Each day news reports bring additional justification for the public's fear of walking the streets at night and, in some communities, of being alone at home during the day. Parents wonder if their children are safe playing in neighborhood parks and recreational centers. All too often, the answer

is that they are not.

Congress is again faced with the responsibility of responding to the public's concern for personal protection and security. In doing so, however, the Congress should be careful not to restrict unduly the liberties of all Americans in halting the crimes committed by a small minority among us. Instead, the attention of the Congress, and specifically to this committee, should focus upon the innocent, the helpless, the aged and the weak. The time is long overdue for the legislators to react strongly as their constituents against those who, by endangering the wellbeing of individuals, endanger as well the very fabric of our free society.

The American people have been outraged by the way terrorist groups around the world have acted as if they are immune to governmental reprisals against their barbarism. But the same attitude of immunity prevails among street criminals in our own land. They know that, if they are apprehended for their crimes, there is a strong chance that a lenient court will treat them as the unfortunate victims of their environment, rather than as perpetrators of deliberate evil. In other words, we have minimized the risks involved in committing a crime. Like most New Yorkers, I believe that our emphasis must now be upon the punishment of criminal conduct, rather than the prohibition of

the possession of firearms.

Some latter-day authorities on the Constitution claim that the Second Amendment to that neglected document refers only to the right of an organized militia, rather than private individuals, to bear arms. That is not my view, and I am glad to say it was not the view of those who framed that amendment. At the time of the adoption of the Bill of Rights, this country's statesmen were concerned with the need to protect citizens from government itself, and the passage of almost two centuries has not negated the validity of this concern. The fact that Article I, Section 8, clause 16 of the Constitution grants Congress the power to organize, arm, and discipline the militia clearly indicates a quite different intention for the Second Amendment. Moreover, several of the state constitutions, newly drafted during the period of the early Republic, specifically mentioned the right of the individual to own arms. If the framers of the Constitution truly wished to protect citizens from the potential tyranny of any strong, centralized government, they could not also have intended to disarm citizens, who would then have been helpless to resist the very kind of usurpations which the Founding Fathers hated and feared.

I hate to think of the present-day consequences of the disarmament of the American people. Gordon M. Johnson, Chief of Police in Minneapolis, in an article in the Manchester Union Leader, January 3, 1974, declared:

'Police forces were never designed to provide general personal security; that reliance has of necessity rested with the people. Who provides protection before the squad car

arrives?"

In an interview with a Human Events reporter, published March 22, 1975, the former Chief of Police for Los Angeles, Edward M. Davis remarked:

"If we didn't have a pro gun lobby, we would be completely disarmed by now. Frankly, I'm not going to give up my guns until government can assure me that I will be protected from the blood thirsty killers turned loose by the courts. Any individual who wants my guns will have to come and get them the hard way."

I am sure that millions of Americans share the sentiments of former police chief Davis. Can our government provide for adequate protection of all its citizenry without taking on many of the characteristics of a police state? I think not. We will not control the criminal use of guns by disarming the law-

abiding.

Mr. Chairman, this country will never achieve justice and domestic order until the penalty for criminal conduct becomes commensurate with the evil it has caused, I have long advocated mandatory penalties for any felon who commits a crime while in possession of a firearm, I am a co-sponsor of Senator Domenici's bill, S. 216, which would do just that. It mandates imprisonment of not less than 1 year and not more than 10 years for a first offense, and not less than 2 years nor more than 25 for a second offense with a gun. In addition, probation would not be permitted. It therefore provides the kind of assured penalty that will discourage criminals from carrying guns under circumstances when they may be tempted to use them. Moreover, the penalties here stated could not run concurrently with any other sentence. It is my firm belief that only legislation such as that which Senator Domenici has proposed can really come to grips with criminal use of guns that has made America a nation of fearful victims.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to address myself specifically to proposals recently made by the Attorney General regarding the Federal regulation of handguns. While I share Mr. Levi's concern for the crime rate and for the apparent inability of Federal law enforcement efforts to reduce it significantly, I find his proposals to be faulty in their conception, erroneous in their assumptions, and unwork-

able in their application.

As I understand Mr. Levi's plan, it provides for virtually gun-free zones in various metropolitan areas of the country, depending upon their level of population, their crime rate, and the rate of increase in their crime rate. A certain formula, as yet to be worked out, would automatically trigger the provisions of the law, making them applicable to an area when its crime rate hit a certain level. Thereafter, the possession and sale of firearms and ammunition would be severely limited. In fact, they would be almost impossible to obtain.

The plan is shot through with loopholes. In the first place, it is at best misleading to think that the Attorney General's proposals would apply only to large cities. When suburbanities, and even the residents of rural counties on the far fringes of large cities, discover that the Census Bureau and the Office of Management and Budget have included their communities in the definition of "metropolitan areas," they will also find

themselves brought under Mr. Levi's pro-

Moreover, although the plan professes to safeguard the interests of sportsmen and members of gun clubs-by allowing them the right to fire their weapons at properly licensed gun ranges—it also would require them to store their weapons at properly licensed arsenals. We can imagine the scenario. Law-abiding citizens, having registered their guns, must leave them at their gun club's vault, if that vault passes federal inspection and meets federal standards. Then, when criminals raid the vault and add those guns to their private stockpiles, the Department of Justice would presumably investigate the gun club to see if the theft was due to their negligence or oversight. This is not meant to be a humorous matter; it is all too likely to actually happen.

The fatal flaw in the Attorney General's plan, as the Washington Post pointed out in a recent editorial, is that it cannot prevent gun-running between those areas covered by the plan and those in which the possession of firearms would still be left to state jurisdiction. In short, the plan would not work, could not work, unless it were eventually extended to the entire country; and even then it is hard to believe that anything short of repeated house-to-house searches would flush out even a fraction of the millions of

handguns now in private hands.

Let us face the facts, Mr. Chairman. Let no one be deluded on this point. The Attorney General's nicely crafted proposals not only would not deprive criminals of their guns, but before this decade is out, it would mean the end of legal private ownership of handguns in America, at least on the part of those law-abiding citizens whose right to bear arms should not be impaired.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, again what should not need repetition: the American people are frightened for their safety and security. Because our criminal justice system seems not to be protecting them, they are purchasing firearms for their own defense. Who can blame them? They are convinced, and rightly so, that their government is not taking adequate measures to bring criminals to justice. They have therefore realized that they must themselves guarantee their own safety. It is a lamentable state of affairs, but denying those facts will not change them.

THE NATO ALLIANCE

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, in the wake of recent unhappy events in Southeast Asia, there is an understandable tendency to review our worldwide situation and our overseas military commitments.

I refer particularly to the value of our NATO alliance. This has been the most important and the most successful treaty in our post-World War II history. Despite stresses and strains, it has proved to be a highly successful post-World War II policy both for us and our European allies. It has worked, and worked well, in deterring Communist expansionism in this key area of the world.

I want to say to my colleagues, and to the American people as well, that we should not let the adverse developments in Southeast Asia disturb and affect us to the point that our confidence in NATO is undermined. Even though a review of our commitments is always in order, we cannot draw back and try to go it alone.

The key point is that, in the face of the strength of Russian arms, the military alliance between the United States and Western Europe is just as necessary for our mutual security as it ever was. The fact is that militarily, we need our NATO allies and they need us. Bitterness over our role in South Vietnam and Cambodia is no justification for scuttling or jeopardizing the most successful alliance we formed at the end of World War II.

Some headway has been made in readjusting our military forces in Western Europe. Some U.S. expenditures have been saved. We have carried more than our part of the load at times and must insist that our allies there continue to increase their contribution. The Mutual Reduction of Armaments Conference shows more promise and I believe there is a real chance for sound accomplishments this time. All chances for achievements there would be lost if we make unilateral reductions, or wavered in any way.

Mr. President, the need for NATO was the prime reason why I felt that, on the Cyprus question, we should not tie the President's hands but should give him ample room to negotiate with Greece and Turkey, both members of NATO. If the differences between them cannot be worked out, then the southeastern flank of NATO could come apart at the seams and the whole NATO structure could be put in jeopardy.

I say again, Mr. President, that NATO has been an outstanding military and diplomatic success story for more than a quarter of a century despite some rough going along the way. Let us not let public disillusionment with respect to other events in which we were involved cause us to take any actions which will undermine or destroy it.

To the contrary all Members must keep it alert and vigorous.

WASHINGTON STRAIGHT TALK

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, it was recently my pleasure to be interviewed at length by correspondent Paul Duke on "Washington Straight Talk," a production of the National Public Affairs Center for Television. I ask unanimous consent that the transcript of that interview be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the transcript of the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON STRAIGHT TALK

ANNOUNCER. Senator Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, a key member of the Senate Foreign Relations and Interior Committees, and Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence activities. Tonight . . . on Washington Straight Talk . Senator Frank Church is interviewed by NPACT Correspondent, Paul Duke.

PAUL DUKE, Senator Church, with President Thieu stepping down in South Viet Nam, do you think this means peace is com-

ing at last to South Viet Nam?

Senator Frank Church. It means the war is finished. The cause is lost. It probably means that with the final evacuation of the Americans, the Vietnamese will now take charge of their own affairs and that some terms of surrender will be worked out and I really think they want us out of their Saigon will be spared destruction.

DUKE. You mean that we will now have a negotiated settlement?

Senator Church. Yes, you can call it that, but if this is straight talk. I'd call it surrender. However, the terms of the surrender might very well make some provision for the safe passage of those Vietnamese who feel endangered and who may wish to leave. That happened, you remember, after the French surrender following Dien Bien Phu those that had sided with the French were given 90 days to leave North Viet Nam; now perhaps those South Vietnamese who sided with the United States could be given a safe passage.

I hope that happens because that's the only way that it's possible to accommodate the numbers that President Ford has talked about. He has spoken of as many as 175or 200-thousand endangered Vietnamese who

they wished to leave.

Obviously there's no way that we can extricate that number. We can't set up a rescue mission. All the talk about using the military forces for this purpose is clearly unrealistic. If they come out, they'll come out on the basis of an agreement that's reached with the North Vietnamese.

DUKE. You said the other day that you don't think any American troops should be used to help rescue the South Vietnamese who have worked with us for so long. Don't we have a moral obligation to exert every kind of means possible to help those people get out?

Senator Church. Yes, but I want possible means, means possible, possible means. Why talk about the use of American troops to rescue 175-thousand people-that would mean establishing a perimeter, opening a new theater of war, thousands of more casualties, prisoners of war, all the rest.

It would mean a Dunkirk-like evacuation, and it would take a very large American army and a brand new war. Now no one is for that, not even President Ford, so let's not talk about that. Let's talk about possible means. And as I say, the possible means for bringing out these people is an agreement reached now with the victors, which would permit their withdrawal.

It did happen after the French withdrawal and it's possible that now with Thieu's resignation, that such an arrangement can be

worked out again.

DUKE. Well, are you suggesting that, given the circumstances as they now exist, with President Thieu gone, that this government should stop talking about additional military aid to try to save Saigon and should put all the emphases on trying to work out some arrangement with the Communists to prevent Saigon from being taken by military force, and to permit the evacuation of as many South Vietnamese as possible. Is that what you're really saying our policy should be from now on?

Senator Church. Yes, that's what I'm saying-let's stop the old shell game, and everyone else knows, why don't we finally level with the American people and stop talking about stabilizing the military situation or another dose of military aid, three-quarters of a billion dollars, it's past time for such posture.

DUKE. Well now Senator, some Democrats are even going further and are suggesting that perhaps we should hold out a hand to the North Vietnamese, proposing to give economic aid to them to help to rebuild the entire country of Viet Nam. How do you feel about that?

Senator Church. I just don't think that's realistic either. I wouldn't jump that far in the other direction. I'd rather doubt that the North Vietnamese want us around any more. country.

They've fought now for ten years to reunite the two halves of Viet Nam. Clearly they have had the support of the greater part of the Vietnamese people. They have been able to instill in them the kind of fighting spirit that in the end prevailed. This has been a long civil war, however differently we wished to describe it, or however differently we conceived it. It has, in fact, from the beginning been a civil war between the Vietnamese people, and it's has been won by the North. Not surprisingly, because after all Ho Chi Minh was the George Washington of Viet Nam. He was the architect of national independence, the leader of the struggle against the French, and his forces were more closely identified in the eyes of the Vietnamese people with this indigenous struggle for independence than the faction that we chose to support.

And so the cause has been lost, and the sooner that we recognize this and begin to draw the right lessons from Viet Nam, the better. I'm afraid that a lot of wrong lessons are being drawn. And we must not go through this terrible ordeal with all of the sacrifice that's been entailed, and then fail

to learn the lessons.

in this country.

DUKE. Well, learn the lessons or not, Vice President Rockefeller was suggesting last week that what has happened has makings of a political issue. Are we now going to be in for a political bloodbath of recriminations here at home?

Senator Church. Oh, it's possible. I hope not. And I rather suspect that it won't happen, because I think that the American people have followed this war long enough and are sufficiently well aware of what has happened out there, not to be taken in by that kind of a divisive political bloodletting

There's a natural tendency of course, to always point the fingers. Politicians are good at that. President Thieu this morning when he resigned pointed the finger of blame at Henry Kissinger and said if hadn't have been for the peace deal that Nixon and Kissinger worked out, none of this would have happened.

Henry Kissinger is pointing the finger of blame at the Democratic Congress, saying that it's failure to grant the eleventh hour requests of the President is the cause.

The President himself doesn't know quite who to blame. He seems to be ambivalent. But actually, you know, we ought to avoid this. The country can't stand another period of recrimination over this war. The Ford administration is not to blame for the fall of South Viet Nam. The Congress is not to blame. The American people are not to blame. No time in history has one country done more for another than we've done for South Viet Nam during the past ten years.

DUKE. Well, who is to blame? Somebody must be to blame?

Senator Church. What's to blame was the mistake in the policy. It's been a flaw from the beginning. The notion that the United States as a Western power could intervene successfully and control the politics of an Asian country—that's the basic mistake in this understanding of the historical tides that have dominated Asia since the end of the Second World War.

Asia is for the Asians. And just as the European countries have had to give up their effort to control Asian affairs, so the United States is going to have to give up its efforts. That's the chief lesson to be learned from Viet Nam. Asia is for the Asians, and it's no longer possible for us to control the politics of that part of the world.

DUKE. As you know Senator, we're now having something of a great debate building up in this country about the course of our for-eign policy in the future. What kind of foreign policy do you think we must now rebuild in the wake of the Viet Nam disaster?

Senator Church. Well I think that we have to learn that there are very definite limits to what we can do in the world in having our way. And it's very healthy that we should learn this before we bankrupt ourselves completely in a series of Viet Nams.

There's no reason, for example, why the United States must maintain a military pres-

ence on the Asian mainland.

DUKE. Now let me ask you on that pointwhen you refer to the Asian mainland, do you include Korea, do you include Taiwan, do you

include Japan?

Senator Church. No, I refer to the mainland itself. I have been arguing for the past twelve, fifteen years, nearly from the time when I first came to the Senate, that the American line of defense in the Pacific ought to be the Pacific itself, because our military strength consists primarily of naval and aerial strength. We can't match the Asians in foot

And therefore, it would make sense to draw a line that is comparable to the kind of military strength we possess. Now the Pacific Ocean is the largest moat that God has placed on this earth. It's 8,000 miles wide. It certainly ought to be sufficient for purposes of American security.

But to insist that move beyond the Pacific, and actually establish military beachheads on the Asian mainland in places like Korea, in places like Thailand, and of course Southeast Asia, is not only enormously costly as we have discovered, but it is self-defeating.

And furthermore, there's no reason why the United States must possess these military beachheads in Asia. Asia is quite different from Europe. If we were entirely out, if we withdrew our remaining forces from the mainland of Asia, a natural equilibrium of power would develop between the Chinese, the Russians, the Indians, the Indonesians, the Japanese, that equilibrium of power can exist in Asia without the necessity of maintaining our military forces on the mainland.

DUKE. Let me ask you more specifically, would you go as far as Senator Mansfield, the Democratic leader in the Senate, who says that we should withdraw our forces from Korea, from Taiwan, that we should, instead of being a three-ocean Navy, be a two-ocean Navy now, getting out of the Mediterranean almost in effect, and also substantially reduce our military force in Europe, which would be a rather sizable pull-back of American power.

Senator Church. I would say we should start on the Asian mainland. I quite agree, as I've already indicated, that we should withdraw our forces from the mainland. That would include Korea, and it would include Thailand.

Secondly, I would not insist on trying to convert the Indian Ocean into an American lake. It never has been that, and doesn't have to become that.

With respect to the Mediterranean and Europe, I would go very cautiously because Europe is more closely connected with America's security and economic well-being than these other places we've discussed. I do think, however, that we should not remain wedded to the notion that a fixed number of troops must remain on station in Europe. We've been much too inflexible in that regard. However, a general pull-back from Europe and the Mediterranean I would not endorse.

DUKE. Well, Senator, isn't all of this discussion and talk here at home bound to have repercussions abroad. For example, last week we had a West Germany leader who said he was not at all certain that if West Berlin

were attacked that America would come to its defense.

And Henry Kissinger, taking note of the fact that Congress has been increasingly aggressive in its assertion on foreign policy. said only last week as well, and I would like to quote what he said, he said, "Congress has taken actions which have paralyzed our policies in the Middle East, weakened our hand in dealing with Russia, and inhibited our dialog in this hemisphere."

Now are you at all concerned that Confeeling its foreign policy oats, may

be going too far?

Senator Church. Well, I think that Mr. Kissinger has gone too far in his indictment. It's extravagant, emotional, and it's not really accurate. What is he referring to?

Let's look at his various . . . let's break that down for a minute. Would you go over it.... Duke. Yes, he says that "Congress has paralyzed our policies in the Middle East"

for one.

Senator Church. Well now, he must have reference there to Cyprus since the Congress has interfered in no way with respect to his effort to negotiate between the Israelis and the Arabs.

If he has reference to Cyprus, he's talking about a Congressional ban against further military aid to Turkey. Now there was a good reason for that ban. Turkey violated its solemn pledges with the United States and used our weapons that we had supplied Turkey to invade Cyprus, another ally of the United States, the Greeks. And so Congress said we'll give no further arms until a peaceful settlement is achieved in Cyprus. That's not entirely unreasonable.

How does the Secretary want to achieve that peace? Well, if you listen to him and the President, you'll find they want to buy the peace; they want to pay the Turks on the one hand, and the Greeks on the other

hand, to settle the Cyprus affair.

Now that may be policy by grand design, but it's known as a "pay-off" in less stately terms. And there's a strong suspicion in the Congress that the United States ought not to pay both these countries to settle the Cyprus dispute.

Now, the next indictment . .

DUKE. He said that "you've weakened the Administration's hand in dealing Russia."

Senator Church. Well, how have we weakened the Administration's hand there? We have put one restriction, that is to say, no more than 400 million dollars of American credit to help in the economic development of the Soviet Union without coming back to Congress and getting Congressional consent.

Now I don't think that's so unreasonable, particularly when you consider that they're thinking about underwriting the develop-ment of a seven billion do" project to develop natural gas in the Soviet Union, under arrangements that would be very risky from the American point of view.

So here again, Congress, I think, has simply put a prudent restriction on the use of money in the Soviet Union and asks the Administration to come back and make a case if it wants more. I don't think that's unreasonable.

DUKE. Do you think that Kissinger has outlived his usefulness? Senator CHURCH. I think that Kissinger is a very skillful negotiator and a very able

man. I think that we put too much emphasis, however, upon the man that holds the position and too little emphasis upon the policy.

Now it wouldn't make any difference at all if Kissinger were dismissed tomorrow if the man who replaced him was an adherent of and an advocate of the same policy. And remember, the last half dozen American presidents have all been serviced by the same fraternity of foreign policy advisors. Now unless you get a man that's going to change the policy, it doesn't much matter whether Kissinger leaves or stays.

DUKE. But do you think he should go? Do you think that at this point in time

Senator Church. . . . Not if he's going to be replaced with another Kissinger. difference does it make? You see, that's my whole point. We ought to be talking about changes in American foreign policy, and not about the people.

DUKE. Well then if we change the .

Senator Church. . . . who hold the positions, as long as the policy remains the same. Duke. But if we do change the foreign policy, then obviously you feel Kissinger must go.

Senator Church. Yes.

DUKE. He couldn't administer the new foreign policy

Senator Church. That is true, and I think the policy should change.

Duke. So you think Kissinger should go? Senator Church. If he's replaced by someone who will change the policy. You've got to look at both sides of this coin.

Duke. Senator, the other hat vou're wearing these days is that of being Chairman of the Senate's new special investigation of the CIA. On the basis of what you now know, has there been a widespread pattern of abuse of authority by the CIA?

Senator CHURCH. There has been abuse, how widespread it's been we haven't yet had a chance to determine; we're just at the early stages of the investigation. But clearly, there have been violations of the law, not only respecting the CIA but the FBI as well

We expect to look thoroughly into the whole intelligence community, and I'll have a better idea as to how widespread these transgressions have been by the time we finish our investigation.

Duke. But you don't know how widespread they are at this point?

Senator Church. Not yet.

DUKE. We've been told that the CIA planned and carried out political assassinations. Is that a legitimate activity of the CIA?

Senator Church, First of all, we don't have evidence that such assassinations were car-ried out, and we don't know yet whether they were really planned in any formal way. We'll be looking into that question.

As to whether it's a legitimate activity, of course it's not a legitimate activity. No agency of the Federal Government can be licensed to commit murder. And it doesn't matter whether or not they act under the President's orders; the President of the United States is not a glorified godfather. And we can't permit murder to be an instrument of our national policy in times of peace.

Duke. We keep having recurring reports that the CIA in some fashion was involved in the assassination of John Kennedy in Dallas in 1963. Is this one of the things you're going to seriously look at?

Senator Church. We'll look at it very seriously if we find any evidence that in any way substantiates what way.
answer the question that way.
answer the question that way.

know how much you'll get into it then, unless you get evidence, is that what you're saying?

Senator Church. Of course, that's what I'm saving. If we have no evidence to pursue, naturally we're not going to be able to develop that as a focal point of our investigation. We will go where the evidence leads.

DUKE. Senator, we know by the CIA's own admission, that they have destroyed innumerable documents and papers which could

be very important to your investigation. How can you possibly get to the bottom of all the things the CIA has done, knowing that they have destroyed potentially im-

portant material?

Senator Church. Well, we'll do the best we can. We have the right to interrogate CIA employees, both past and present, we'll go to such sources, basic sources of the information as we can find, we'll try to piece together what has happened as thoroughly as time permits, and do everything we can to find out what the truth may be of the charges that have been leveled against this agency.

DUKE. But it does mean, doesn't it, that you may not necessarily get to the truth about the CIA?

Senator Church. It is possible. I can't guarantee it. I can only guarantee that we'll do the best job we can with the evidence that is available.

DUKE. As you know, there's another commission that was set up by President Ford, investigating the CIA, headed by Mr. Rockefeller. And some people, some critics have suggested that this group was set up pri-marily to protect the CIA and in the process it may suppress certain material which could be used by your investigators. Are they cooperating with you? Do you share that fear?

Senator Church. Well, first of all I think that the Rockefeller Commission will have to be judged on its findings and its general performance, and I think that it's going to wrap up its investigation by the end of May. And then the public can reach its own

judgment.

However, we will be seeing-when I say we, I mean Sen. Tower and I-we will be visiting with Vice President Rockefeller very soon, and we're going to ask him to supply all of the evidence and the testimony, the transcripts, everything that has been accumulated by his commission, so that we may have the benefit of all of that in connection with our own investigation.

DUKE. One of the members of your committee, Republican Senator Howard Baker, said the other day that you can't possibly do a thorough job unless Richard Nixon testifies. Are you going to call him as a

witness?

Senator Church. Well, the committee hasn't yet decided what the focal points of the investigation will be. It's such a large mandate that we're going to have to narrow down on certain focal points. If one of those relates to subject matter that would require President Nixon as a witness, I would have no hesitation in recommending to the committee that he be called.

DUKE. Senator, you said some time ago, that in a free society, intelligence activities must be carried out according to strict rules, very high standards. But isn't it unrealistic to expect that this can occur? Isn't spying really a dirty business by its very nature, which can't be carried out by gentlemanly

rules?

Senator Church. Well, let's be clear about what we're talking about. When the CIA was set up it was set up to spy on countries that might become enemies of the United States, that is to say its spying was to be done abroad, not at home. And it is a dirty game, and that's why special precautions were taken at the time to see to it that the dirty game was not turned by such an agency upon the American people, and that the CIA did not become another Gestapo or KGB. That is terribly important if we're going to a free society.

And one of our particular interests in this investigation is to look at the ways that the CIA might have disregarded this prohibition in the law and turned its spying inward on

the American people.

After all, what is it set up for in the first place, save to protect a free society from its enemies abroad. And we must be very careful that such an agency does not become a secret police and become a menace to the very freedom it's supposed to be protecting.

DUKE. You headed the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee which investigated the oil situation a few months ago. The Democrats in Congress still seem to be floundering on developing some kind of oil policy. Your subcommittee recommended a 15% cut in oil consumption and turning to gas rationing if necessary. Do you still stand by that?

Senator Church. Yes, I stand by it. I think that we have to reduce our imports of foreign oil, not only because of the expense that's involved, which is one of the reasons for our serious inflation that persists despite high unemployment, but also to reduce our dependence upon uncertain foreign sources. After the Arab embargo we've been forewarned of the need to become more independent in our fuel supplies.

So I do stand by that. I think that we should reduce our imports as we effect savings in this country as we shift from oil to other sources of fuel and as we manage to conserve gasoline. And I think that's the key-it's the automobile and the need to emphasize more efficient automobiles in the

future.

But as we reduce our consumption, then I think we should translate that reduction into quotas that will reduce our importation of foreign oil.

DUKE. Senator, as a rising Democratic voice in Congress, are you going to run for

President?

Senator Church. I've put off any decision on that score until after this investigation that I head up is completed because I just can't mix any possible involvement in presidential politics with .

DUKE. Well, that sounds like you are plan-

ning to run.

Senator Church. I don't know where this investigation will bring me out-it's been called a Kamikaze mission, it's been called a mine field, and until I'm through that mine field I've just set aside any thought of presidential politics.

DUKE. But you think you could get through the mine field to the White House?

Senator CHURCH. Well, the future will

DUKE. Well, we'll talk to you in the future then. Thank you for coming here and talking with us tonight, Senator Church.

Senator Church. Thank you. It's been my

Announcer. Washington Straight Talk. From Washington NPACT has brought you Democratic Senator Frank Church of Idaho. with NPACT correspondent Paul Duke.

Production funding provided by Public Television stations, the Ford Foundation, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. This has been a production of NPACT, a division of GWETA.

ARMENIAN AMERICANS

Mr. BUCKLEY, Mr. President, many Americans of Armenian descent marked April 24 as a day of mourning for those who perished at the hands of the Turks during one of the most brutal periods of the history of that region. It is estimated that over 11/2 million Armenians perished during the 25 years of persecution by the Turkish Government, and estimates of those who died during forcible deportations add possibly another million individuals to that grim figure.

On this date in New York City, a series

of assemblies were held to commemorate this tragic event. I believe that it is vital to recall this episode along with other experiences we have known in the 20th century, for this directs the attention of the world to a brutal example of man's inhumanity to his fellow man.

I wish at this time to extend to all of my Armenian-American constituents and to all other Armenian-Americans in the United States my thanks for keeping the memory of their past sufferings alive, and my prayers that, through their actions, such a persecution will never again be allowed to happen. We wish to be reminded of past tragedies so that we may remain determined to prevent others in the future. We owe the Armenian-American community a great debt for this reminder of our own blessings, and of the obligation we owe to others less fortunate than we during periods of great suffering.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD an article from the New York Times which details some of the activities which took place in New

York on April 24.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE 1915 GENOCIDE IS STILL VIVID TO ARMENIANS HERE

(By Richard F. Shepard)

New York, a city of survivors, will be reminded today by its small but articulate Armenian community of one of the century's first and worst genocides, which wiped out half of its compatriots who lived in the Turkish part of Armenia 60 years ago.

Even now, there are few among the 50,000 Armenian-American New Yorkers who were not personally touched, through the experiences of grandparents or parents, by the Turkish massacres of 1915 that led to the desolation of eastern Anatolia and left Armenia as a small state, now a Soviet Republic, on the Russian side of the border.

The observance of the day of remembrance, which commemorates April 24, 1915, when the Turks rounded up and killed more than 200 Armenian leaders in Constantinople as the prelude to a general extermination, actually began yesterday. There was an interfaith conference, and a candlelight procession last evening wound its way from the golden-domed St. Vartan Cathedral at 34th Street and Second Avenue through midtown by way of the United Nations, to St. Patrick's Cathedral, where a service was held.

TWO GOALS

Today's events, sponsored by a number of organizations, have a common thrust: to recall to the world the brutalities of 60 years ago and to call for Turkish acknowledgement of the atrocities. Samuel Azadian, deputy commissioner of the city's Department of Highways and chairman of the procession yesterday, quoted a remark by Adolf Hitler during World War II, as he prepared his own programs of extermination: "Who talks nowadays of the extermination of the Ar-

"We are not doing this for revenge against the Turks or for bloodlust," said Mr. Azadian, whose mother and sister survived the massacres. "We have to say what happened because it might prevent other genocides."

The Diocese of the Armenian Church of America, with the co-sponsorship of the Greek Orthodox Church, the United States Catholic Conference, the American Jewish Committee, the Islamic Center of Washington, the Council of Churches of Christ of the U.S.A., and the United States Conference

of the World Council of Churches, will continue its conference, "Religion's Role In a Violent World," at St. Vartan's meeting halls, with sessions at 9 A.M. and 2 P.M. The conference ends tomorrow.

The Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America, will sponsor at 9 A.M. today a "Survivor's Pilgrimage" to the Statue of Liberty, of 60 people who escaped the killings of 1915. A silver chalice will be presented to the Museum of Immigration

At 6:30, the prelacy will offer a special program honoring Armenian-Americans at the Felt Forum in Madison Square Garden. Among the speakers will be Barbara Tuchman, the Pulitzer-prize winning author whose grandfather was Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to Turkey in 1915 and a prime figure in calling attention to the Armenian plight.

At 1 p.m., local branches of three major Armenian political parties, united in one action for the first time in their long histories, will hold a mass demonstration to protest "Turkey's continuing violation of human rights" and Turkey's failure to make reparations or to admit to the annihilation. will start at Madison Avenue and 26th Street and will move along to the United Nations, where a formal complaint will be presented to United Nations Secretary General Waldheim. In Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, proclamations by Mayor Beame, and Governors Carey and Byrne, taking note of the occasion, will be

THE OPPOSITION

A Congressional resolution that would have designated today as a day of remembrance passed the House, but has not been voted upon by the Senate, where it was reported, the State Department, worried about negotiations with Turkey and Greece over Cyprus, strongly opposed to the measure.

At the New York Armenian Home for the Aged, 137-31 45th Avenue, in Flushing, Queens, a suggestion that elderly survivors dredge up what they recalled of their terrorstricken childhood reduced many to tears. An aide said that most did not even speak of

it among themselves.

However, Nevart Prudian, a pleasant-looking 67-year-old woman who is a cook at the home, which has an appetizing Armenian menu, offered to tell her story because she felt it was important for the world to know.

"I was 6 or 7 years old in Erzerum, in eastern Turkey, when the soldiers came to the house in April, 1915, and pushed us out," she said, speaking through an interpreter. "We walked to a town where they separated the men from the women. They threw the men into the water and killed them. The Euphrates was red with blood.

MARCHED INTO DESERT

"I was with my mother and two younger sisters. The sisters died on the march. We tried to bury them, but the next day we saw the dogs at the grave," she said.

The Armenians were marched hundreds of miles into the Mesopotanian Desert. The Turks, Mrs. Prudian said, took the young women and raped and killed them as they

"People were dying of thirst and exposure on the way," she continued. "Pregnant women were killed with knives. We walked from that April until the next February, stopping here and there, but nobody did anything for us. You would see people fighting each other for a bit of garbage to eat, for an orange peel."

Unlike many companions on the march, Mrs. Prudian finally reached an Americanrun orphanage in Syria and in 1908 was mar-

ried in Beirut.

"I often dream of those things," she said, adding, when asked what her experiences all meant for the rest of the world. "I want peace, brotherhood, love, a piece of land for Armenians where I can go."

The story repeated with infinite variations according to a particular experience, is told not only by survivors but also by their descendants. Yet few of those interviewed said they harbored a personal bitterness for the

Archbishop Torkom Manoogian, primate of the Armenian Church Diocese, said that there were several aspects to the observance.

'One is for the Armenians to commemorate events of the past to preserve their unity with history," he said. "One million or one and a half million Armenians were massacred in a premeditated genocide by the Turks. This generation followed the example of its ancestors by not denying their Chistian faith when the Turks forced the Moslem religion

POSITION DETAILED

Archbishop Karekin Sarkissian, Prelate of the Armenian Apostolic Church in America, said, "We all feel this way about the Turks: You cannot suppress a whole nation. If they admit something wrong was done, then we can see about remedies. We can sit and talk. But, today we are faced with a situation they do not acknowledge. They not only do not accept the fact but they do not concede that they had anything to do with it."

This consciousness affects all levels of American Armenian life. Armenians in America number a half million, with concentration in California and pockets in Boston and Detroit, as well as in the New York area, where many have moved out of traditional Manhattan neighborhoods such areas as Queens and Bergen county.

Many are well-educated, reasonably affluent and active in professions, the arts, business and public life a change from the days when first and second generations clustered in rug-dealing and photoengraving. They go to Armenian churches, either the traditional ones or Protestant and Roman Catholic, and their children go to Sunday schools and even Armenian day schools. Identity is a central issue among Armenian Reporter, a Queens English-language weekly, for copies of the New Yorker that carried the three installments of Michael Arlen's quest for his Armenian identity.

The library was swamped with requests for copies. The writer, son of the British author, described how he learned about himself and his heritage.

THIRD GENERATION IS MILITANT

"The third generation is more active than the second," said Edward K. Boghosian, editor of the Armenian Reporter. "There's been a revival stimulated by the civil rights movements—if you have black power, why not Armenian power—and because the third generation doesn't have the problem of deciding what they are as the second did."

Melik Ohanesian, the 44-year-old owner of the Dardanellen Restaurant, 86 University Place, was born in France but came to New York as a youngster. His father and mother were among those who fled Turkey unscathed.

"You are always conscious of being Armenian," he said: "Armenians do not hate the Turks, I cannot hate a Turk. We want history to be built on the truth.

"My daughters are young," he said. "But they have the feeling of being Armenian as as American, even though they might know the Armenian language. This is not know the Armenian language. how we survive with our culture. We are, I call it, the last of the Mohicans."

LAW DAY IN CONNECTICUT

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, May first, 1975, will mark the 18th annual nationwide observance of Law Day-USA, a special day set aside by joint resolution of Congress and by Presidential procla-

mation for "rededication to the ideals of equality and justice under law."

The purpose of the annual observance is to dramatize the values of living under a system of laws and independent courts that protect rights and make possible a free society.

The theme selected in recognition of Law Day 1975 is: America's Goal-Jus-

tice Through Law.

The significance of the nationwide observance of Law Day on May 1 has never been more pointed than this year. Events during the past 21/2 years have proved that the American judicial system does work, that it successfully resisted every attempt to subvert it, and that ours is a government of laws, not men, and those laws are sound.

More than 1,500 State and local bar organizations will observe the Law Day event with appropriate activities and cerenionies in the Nation's courts, schoolrooms and municipalities with the cooperation of thousands of public spirited agencies and organizations.

The Connecticut Bar Association, which has set an unprecedented record as the recipient of the ABA Award of Merit for 4 of the past 5 years for the excellence of its Law Day programs, will join with Connecticut's secretary of the State, Gloria Schaffer, to present young attorneys in more than 150 of Connecticut public and private high schools speaking on the rights, obligations and privileges of reaching the majority age of 18.

At the same time, Project VOTE-Voice Opinions Through Elections—cosponsored by 17 public and private organizations, including educational, political, business and community service groups, will attempt to register at the school assemblies all students who have become eligible to vote by that date.

In addition, all of Connecticut's 25 local and county bar associations will conduct a variety of programs which will include presentations in elementary and junior high schools, ceremonies in all of the State's courts, proclamations by the mayors and first selectmen of Connecticut's 169 municipalities, special distinguished service awards to deserving laymen and media presentations.

JACK SHEEHAN

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I noted with regret the impending departure of Gov. John Sheehan from the Federal Reserve Board.

Appointed in 1972, Jack Sheehan served with great distinction during times of extraordinary economic and financial stresses. The counsel, wisdom, and thoughtful approach he brought to his responsibilities will be missed.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article, which appeared in the New York Times, be printed in the

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

JOHN E. SHEEHAN

John E. Sheehan has resigned as a member of the Federal Reserve Systems board of governors, effective June 1, the White House announced yesterday. Mr. Sheehan, who is 45 years old and who has been a governor since 1972, will return to private business, but his exact plans could not be determined yesterday afternoon. His term

was scheduled to expire in 1982.

In recent months, Mr. Sheehan has carried several messages to the banking community. In March, he urged that bankers, who had been watching the demand for business loans sag, become more accommodating in their lending policies. Last December, Mr. Sheehan criticized what he called "the hodgepodge of bank regulation" and he came out in support of a single Federal banking regulatory agency.

Born in Johnstown, Pa., Mr. Sheehan graduated from the United States Naval Academy and the Harvard Business School. When he was appointed to the board by former President Nixon, Mr. Sheehan was president and chief executive officer of the Corhart Refractories Company of Louisville, Ky., a subsidiary of Corning Glass Works.

In resigning the \$40,000-a-year position, Mr. Sheehan described serving at the Fed as "an unqualifiedly satisfying privilege and experience." He also praised the central bank's "truly brilliant staff."

VAN CAMP SEAFOOD CO. ENTERS INTO VOLUNTARY FISH INSPEC-TION PROGRAM

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the Van Camp Seafood Co., a subsidiary of the Ralston Purina Co. of St. Louis, Mo., has entered into the voluntary fish inspection program administered by the National Marine Fisheries Service, an important component of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. The National Marine Fisheries Service is authorized by the Agricultural Marketing Act and the Fish and Wildlife Act to develop and implement quality grading standards for fishery products and to improve health and sanitation standards in the industry. Through the voluntary inspection program, NMFS conducts plant and product inspection services on a continuing basis for fish processors.

While plants under the continuous inspection program are subject to inspections by the Food and Drug Administration, this program represents one more initiative at joint Government-industry cooperation. On the one hand we have the Federal agencies involved deferring to the expertise of one another. On the other hand we have an outstanding processor leading the way to insure the high quality and safety of the fisheries

products which it produces.

To the Van Camp Seafood Co., I extend my heartiest congratulations for entering this voluntary inspection program. Once under the program, the level of safety and quality is as high a standard as can be expected. It is definitely a step which other fisheries processors should consider.

DAVID ROCKEFELLER ON MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Corp., recently commented on criticisms of multinational corporations. He called multinationals-

The most important instruments in the unprecedented expansion that has taken place in world trade.

He said that they promoted competition and jobs. He called for an effort to help refute the critics of multinational corporations.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the New York Times reporting Mr. Rockefeller's remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

DAVID ROCKEFELLER ON "MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

David Rockefeller called on the business community in Britain and elsewhere yesterday for a united effort in refuting what he termed "the proliferating critics" of multinational corporations.

The chairman of the Chase Manhattan Corporation, said in an address at the stock exchange in Manchester, England, that "We should be doing all in our power to lift the siege that is taking shape around the beleaguered multinational companies."

He termed the multinationals "the most important instruments in the unprecedented expansion that has taken place in world trade." He said that, instead of creating monopolies, exporting jobs and exploiting underdeveloped countries, as critics charge, the multinationals were promoting competition and creating jobs.

Mr. Rockefeller commented that the principal complaint of underdeveloped countries was that multinational companies were neglecting them in new investment and expan-

sion.

He noted that the "fiercest kind of political and rhetorical assault" on multinationals has been coming from "academicians, from writers, from left-leaning economists and from politicians." He characterized "the spate of new publications" on multinationals "as collections of innuendo, half-truths, distortion and outright falsehood."

MUNICIPAL CLERKS WEEK

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, the City Councils of Gardena and South El Monte, Calif., have recently passed resolutions in support of Senate Joint Resolution 45, which I have introduced, to designate the second week in May as "Municipal Clerks Week."

I ask unanimous consent that these resolutions be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION No. 75-1781

A resolution of the City Council of the City of South El Monte, California, supporting Senate Joint Resolution No. 45 and House Resolution No. 227, relative to designating the second week in May as "Municipal Clerks Week"

Whereas, it is recognized that the City Clerk performs the highly valued functions of administering the procedures and keeping the records of the City; and
Whereas, it is further recognized that the

City Clerk provides and maintains an organized source of knowledge about the community; and

Whereas, the City Clerk provides conscientious representation of the municipal government in the affairs of the community; and

Whereas, the City Clerk helps mold public opinion of local government through daily

contact with the citizenry;
Now, therefore, the City Council of the
City of South El Monte, California, does hereby resolve as follows:

Section 1: That the City Council of the

City of South El Monte does hereby support the national movement to recognize the importance of the position of City Clerk with the passage of joint congressional resolutions

designating the second week in May as "Mu-nicipal Clerks' Week."

Section 2: That the City Council of the City of South El Monte does hereby encourage the Senate Committee on Judiciary and the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee to give Senate Joint Resolution No. 45 and House Joint Resolution No. 227 respec-

tively, favorable hearings.

Section 3: That the City Clerk be authorized and instructed to forward a copy of this Resolution to the City of Carson, to Senators Alan Cranston, John V. Tunney and Daniel K. Inouye, Congressmen Charles H. Wilson and G. William Whitehurst, Virginia, Committee of Post Office and Civil Service, Senate Committee on Judiciary, and all cities within Los Angeles County.

Section 4: That this Resolution shall take

effect immediately.

Section 5: That the City Clerk shall certify to the passage and adoption of this Resolution; shall cause the original of same to be entered in the Book of Resolutions of said City of South El Monte, and shall make a minute of the passage and adoption thereof in the records of the proceedings of the City Council of said City in the minutes of the meeting at which the same is passed and adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 3127 A RESOLUTION OF THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF GARDENA, CALIFORNIA, SUPPORTING SENATE JOINT RES-OLUTION No. 45 AND HOUSE JOINT RESOLU-TION No. 227, RELATIVE TO DESIGNATING THE SECOND WEEK IN MAY AS "MUNICIPAL CLERKS' WEEK"

Whereas, it is recognized that the City Clerk performs the highly valued functions of administering the procedures and keeping the records of the City; and

Whereas, it is further recognized that the City Clerk provides and maintains an organized source of knowledge about the community; and

Whereas, the City Clerk provides conscientious representation of the municipal government in the affairs of the community;

Whereas, the City Clerk helps mold public opinion of local government through daily contact with the citizenry;

Now, therefore, the City Council of the City of Gardena, California, does hereby resolve, declare, find, determine, and order as follows:

Section 1. That the City Council of the City of Gardena does hereby support the national movement to recognize the importance of the position of City Clerk with the passage of joint congressional resolutions designating the second week in May as "Municipal Clerks' Week."

Section 2. That the City Council of the City of Gardena does hereby encourage the Senate Committee on Judiciary and the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee to give Senate Joint Resolution No. 45 and House Joint Resolution No. 227 respectively, favorable hearings.

Section 3. That the City Clerk be authorized and instructed to forward a copy of this Resolution to the City of Carson, to Senators Alan Cranston, John V. Tunney and Daniel K. Inouye, Congressman Charles H. Wilson and G. William Whitehurst, Virginia, Committee of Post Office and Civil Service, Senate Committee on Judiciary, and all cities within Los Angeles County.

Section 4. That this Resolution shall take

effect immediately.
Section 5. That the City Clerk shall certify to the passage and adoption of this Resolution; shall cause the original of same to be entered in the Book of Resolutions of said City of Gardena, and shall make a mi-

nute of the passage and adoption thereof in the records of the proceedings of the City Council of said City in the minutes of the meeting at which the same is passed and adopted.

SECTION 235 HOMEOWNERSHIP PROGRAM

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I know my colleagues are aware of the suit which has been filed by Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General of the United States, against President Ford, Director James Lynn of the Office of Management and Budget, and Secretary Carla Hills of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Mr. Staats, acting on behalf of the Congress, is seeking an order from the court requiring the President to obligate \$264.1 million in contract authority available under the section 235 home-

ownership program.

The case, I believe, is a strong one. Under the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, Congress specifically authorized the use this yearbefore August 22, 1975-of the spending authority that was impounded as a result of President Nixon's suspension of the 235 program in January 1973. Under the terms of the Budget Control Act, the Senate disapproved President Ford's request to defer implementation of the program and both the Senate and the House rejected the request to rescind the spending authority specified in the relevant appropriations acts of 1971 and 1972. The money, therefore, must be obligated.

With the need for anywhere from 2.2 to 2.7 million new housing units a year for the rest of the decade and with unemployment among construction workers running at a rate in excess of 20 percent, we should revive and adequately fund the 235 program. As Oliver H. Jones, executive vice president of the Mortgage Bankers Association, has said:

If the Ford Administration wants quick action to stop the rising rate of unemployment in residential construction, its best bet is to open up the subsidized programs that are already on the books.

Senator PROXMIRE, the distinguished chairman of the Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee, has said that the \$264.1 million could help support the purchase of 200,000 new housing units and put 400,000 workers back on the job. The National Housing Conference estimates that the im-

pounded funds will provide 240,000 units.

I believe the 235 homeownership program should be reactivated now. I have never understood the administration's negative attitude toward this program, especially in the wake of the amendments which Congress enacted in the 1974

Housing Act.

There has been fraud and abuse in various FHA programs. But much of the fraud has been wrongly attributed to the 235 program. Whatever problems existed, and there were some, were not caused by the program's design but to a great extent by mismanagement of the program by HUD.

The program, I believe, accomplished a great deal despite poor management. The Federal budget for fiscal year 1976 estimates that by June 30, 1977, the end of the fiscal year, 447,000 units will be eligible for mortgage subsidy payments. This means that nearly 450,000 families. representing over 2 million people, will be homeowners as a result of the 235 program. With a median income of about \$6,500, few of these families would have otherwise achieved this status.

According to HUD statistics, the average monthly income of 235 families was \$456 in 1972. The family's share of the monthly mortgage payment was \$100 and the average monthly subsidy was

\$68

A significant percentage of households which receive these subsidies eventually receive reduced subsidies or no subsidies at all because of their increase in income. After one recertification of income of 235 families, 8 percent stopped receiving any subsidy, 65.8 percent received a reduced subsidy, 13.4 percent had no change, and only 20.8 percent received a larger subsidy.

"Housing in the Seventies," the comprehensive study itself commissioned by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to attempt to justify suspension of several housing subsidy programs, including section 235, reached the following conclusions about the pro-

gram:

First, the program enabled a great number of low- to moderate-income fanilies to buy homes who could not have otherwise.

Second, only a third of all homeowners nationally have incomes below \$7,000, but close to two-thirds of all 235 beneficiaries had incomes below that level.

Third, the 235 program provided substantial benefits to recipients. Housing quality, the study estimated, improved 35 percent. Nonhousing expenditures made possible by 235 subsidies increased by 8 percent.

Fourth, the study did not demonstrate that section 235 housing cost more than

privately built units.

The 235 program also has received high marks in other studies. Dr. Anthony Downs, vice president of the Real Estate Research Corp., reached the following conclusion:

On balance, we believe that both the Section 235 and Section 236 programs are effective instruments for meeting the key objectives of housing subsidies . We believe their basic designs are sound, although some modifications can improve them. The major inadequacies so far encountered in the execution of these programs stemmed from either poor administration by HUD or the inherently higher risks of investing capital in housing for relatively low-income households in relatively deteriorating areas.

During the last few years, newspapers and magazines have given prominent coverage to the limited number of cases of fraud and abuse which have been associated with the 235 program. Few accounts of the program's success have been printed.

Two stories in particular illustrate the success of the 235 program. One involves a demonstration project conducted by the San Francisco Development Fund. A preliminary report shows that under the Development Fund's buyer agent program, serious delinquencies in the 235 total of 412 section 235 loans were included in the buyer's agent program, of which 303 were included in the analysis. By the end of August 1974, only one of the loans was in foreclosure. The key to the success of the program was mandatory prepurchase counseling. The selection and training of prospective homeowners produced responsible buyers who caught up with their cash flow problems and did not become chronic delinquents, the study reported:

The provision of such "guidance," "coun-ling," or "training" was intended when the seling. plans for the Section 235 legislation were first formulated. It is unfortunate that these plans were not carried out.

The San Francisco Fund's program differed from the usual administration of section 235 loans in a number of ways. In addition to careful screening and mandatory training sessions, prospective homebuyers themselves instead of builders or real estate brokers were given HUD subsidy reservations. Consumers then shopped for homes anywhere within a 50mile radius of San Francisco. This demonstration project shows the effect of imaginative management of the section 235 program.

Another successful effort occurred in Chicago. The Bickerdike Redevelopment Corp., a nonprofit community housing corporation on the near-northwest side of the city, built and sold single-family homes. They were the first new singlefamily homes built in the community in over 50 years. Most of the homes were sold to families who qualified for interest subsidies under the 235 program. From 1970 to 1973, Bickerdike, along with two general contractors, built 65 single family homes. Sixty-three of these were sold under section 235 and two were sold with conventional FAA financing.

Seventy percent of the buyers were Latin Americans. The majority of the families were in the \$7,000 to \$9,000 income range and most had two, three, or four children. As of about a year ago, three families had lived in their homes for over 3 years; 24 families 2 to 3 years, 32 families for 1 to 2 years, and 5 families for about a year. Two of the homes had been turned back to HUD because of foreclosures. One was owned by a single woman with adopted children who simply left the property. The other was turned back because the divorced mother of five children died. Two families in danger of foreclosure were able to stay in their homes, because of counseling from Bickerdike.

Besides coordinating the construction of homes, arranging financing, and selling them, Bickerdike worked with the buyers to help them become knowledgeable homeowners. Meetings were held on insurance, maintenance, and budgeting for home improvements. A homeowner's association was formed to work on common problems such as high taxes.

Mr. President, success stories such as these exist in every part of the Nation.

They provide ample evidence for reactivation of the section 235 program. I hope President Ford will respond to the suit filed by the Comptroller General and allocate the appropriate funds for the program. So far as creating jobs soon and filling urgent national and human needs it is much, much preferable to release highway trust funds as the President has done.

DO NOT BLAME THE PEOPLE

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. McIntyre) has issued a painfully truthful indictment of the American political establishment's capacity not only for self-delusion but for delusion of the populace it leads.

In a speech excerpted in the Washington Star, he describes how the establishment has stripped itself of credibility by the failures of its guidance. He notes that, even today, with an energy crisis born of heedless gluttony, the establishment answer is more of the same, a voracious assault on dwindling reserves.

And he asks why the American people should believe their leaders when those same pretenders to wisdom are in the face of their own failures, trying "to dump a load of guilt and anguish upon the American people for the fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia in order to save face for the establishment and soothe the tender egos of those whose prophecies self-destructed before they self-fulfilled.'

But if the establishment is blind, the people are not. If the establishment is incapable of learning from its mistakes, the people are not. As this pointed speech notes, the American people "finally saw what the establishment still refuses to see-that we were not supporting freedom-loving democratic governments, but callous despots who rigged their own elections, jailed their political opponents, closed down critical newspapers, and wallowed in bribery and corruption."

America can do better than that. In the future America must do better. And part of our redemption as a nation lies in heeding the sobering counsel found in this heartfelt speech. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be

printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpted speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ESTABLISHMENT'S OLD EXPLANATIONS SIMPLY WON'T WASH

(By Senator Thomas McIntyre)

(Vietnam, recession, the energy crisis, Watergate: Don't blame the people for the delusions and blunders of the power structure.)

The social ethic of the Constitution holds that the people are the ultimate authority, does it not?

But the sheer mass of 220 million Americans-scattered and preoccupied with personal and parochial interests-leaves the immediate and primary responsibility for chart-ing the course of the nation to the power structure of the nation.

Now when we consider that the power structure of the country is, in truth, that loose coalition of business leaders, political figures, old-line labor leaders and opinion molders we call The Establishment, it would seem at first glance that our is not a democratic republic-but an elitist regime.

Ts it?

It was not supposed to be.

Even if we concede the practical need for a power structure, the social ethic of the Constitution is unmistakably clear . . demands that the power structure, The Establishment, if you will, be ultimately and forever accountable to the people.

We-you and I-are part and parcel of The Establishment whether we like it or not. And so, in the context of this discussion, it is time to ask ourselves some questions.

Have we been accountable to the people? Have we met Daniel Webster's challenge to The Establishment to be alert and responsive to injustice and inequities, to be receptive to new ideas and concepts, to be tolerant of diverse opinion, to be willing to make necessary compromises and accommodate to changing circumstances?

Have we made an honest effort to preserve the viability of the public dialogue . . . to keep the lines of communication open and responsive in order to build trust and con-

fidence?

Or-under the stress of crises and the clamor for reform of the system, re-examination of values, reordering of priorities and redefinition of national mission-have hardened our defense lines around the status quo . . . and made bankrupt rhetoric and the cant of conventional wisdom our sole contribution to the public dialogue?

Let me drill a little closer to the nerve. I have a strong feeling that you and I have a lot more in common than circumstantial membership in The Establishment.

Many of us are from the same generation and much the same background. We were reared in a simpler time, when value systems, authority and conventions were rarely challenged. In that sense, ours was a secure existence because it was singularly free from question if not from need. And when we grew up, even the wars we fought were fought with unswerving conviction and untroubled conscience.

In short, we came from a time and a society where it was deceptively easy to subscribe to "my country right or wrong" because to our knowledge our country never did anything wrong.

America was good . . . because it was

And within many of us, this conditioning nurtured a simplistic, single-dimension patriotism that rarely looked beyond the furls of the flag or the lyrics of the anthem and was sharply at odds with the sophistication of our education and our adult experience. We knew what America was, didn't we?

It was God-given bounty in endless supply. It was oil and steel. It was opportunity and enterprise. It was a way of life so righteous and rewarding we were honor-bound to impose it upon other peoples and cul-tures whether they wanted it or not.

Moreover, there were spin-offs from this primitive concept of what America was . . and why it was that we were no less self-

deluding.

Did we not begin to equate right with respectability? Dollar success with omniscience in all matters? Conformity with competence? Traditional methods with eternal verities? Bigness with best?

If the answer is at least a qualified yes then perhaps this explains why the public dialogue broke down.

For under siege by its own conventiondefying sons and daughters, and by some thoughtful non-Establishment adults, the power structure of the country fell back to defend its vested interest in the status quo with an arsenal of rhetoric that bore little relationship to changing circumstances and new realities and was an affront to balanced judgments.

Consider some of that rhetoric:

When that quintessential figurehead of The Establishment, Richard Nixon, was toppled by Watergate, how did we respond?

Did we tell those who looked to us for bal-anced judgment that Watergate proved that the Founding Fathers' system of checks and balances still worked? Or did we call it " tics as usual?" Or cynically observe that Richard Nixon's only mistake was "getting caught?"

When the energy crisis caught us unawares, did we face up to it as the legacy of heedless exploitation of finite resources, the neglect of keeping refinery capacity up to demand, a pricing structure that encouraged waste and discouraged and discouraged conservation, the failure to develop alternative sources?

Or did we blame it all on the embargo and the environmentalists?

Were we guilty of the same tunnel vision in explaining the current economic crisis?

Did we blame it all on inflationary government handouts and social spending? But discreetly ignore the increasing number of industry giants seeking government bail-outs to help them socialize losses while they privatized profits?

Did we vent our moral outrage on welfare cheats . . . but save none of it for antitrust violators, price-fixers, price gougers or gov-

ernment contract rip-off artists?

And when our exaggerated national pride was offended by the refusal of rebel forces in far-off Indochina to surrender to government troops backed up by thousands of American advisers, soldiers, planes and equipment, how did we respond?

Did we say failure was due to our not doing enough? Did we call for more of the same? More money, more guns, more bullets, more Americans drafted from the ghetto while our sons were safe in college? Or did we admit to a colossal error in judgment and face up to the avalanching evidence that the cause we were supporting wasn't viable enough to support itself?

When national crisis shatters national illusion, the restoration of public trust and confidence depends upon the credibility of explanation and solution.

The Establishment's explanations for the crises I've noted won't wash, my friends.

They simply won't wash.

But what concerns me now is The Establishment's post-crisis response. What solutions will the power structure offer for the American people's consideration?

Let me zero in on two, and tell you straight

off that they won't wash, either.

Indeed, one of them could kill the body of

America . . . and the other its soul.

Consider The Establishment's solution to the energy crisis: What does it propose to the American people?

More of the same. More oil wells, more refineries, more coal mines, more nuclear fission generating plants. All this in the face of disturbing evidence that our national sources of oil and natural gas will be gone in 25 years. That mining the tempting subsurface coal in the Western states could destroy the water supply and the food-producing capacity of that region, that generating power through nuclear fission may not be cost effective, may never become failsafe, but may become ever more vulnerable to theft, sabotage and terrorist blackmail.

Is this all we can offer the American people? This and high and higher energy costs? I'm sure you've heard that some people are now paying more for electricity than they are on their home mortgages. And what does that do to public trust and confidence?

What ever happened to the vision, boldness and ingenuity of American enterprise? Did it, too, fall victim to the deluding comforts of the status quo and the rigidities of conventional wisdom?

Let me tell you a little story. A year ago, a native son of my state of New Hampshire died after a lifetime that spanned more than a century.

This man believed that the sun could be put to work to provide energy without pollution. In 1920 he invented a solar cooker. In 1938 he patented a solar engine that would produce 100,000 kilowatt hours of electrical power a year. In 1972 he secured another patent on a refinement of this engine.

But he never found anyone willing to invest in so much as building a prototype.

Some of yous may have conjured up an image of an eccentric visionary no respectable investor in his right mind would take seriously

You'd be wrong. The gentleman I'm talking about is the late Dr. Charles Greeley Abbot, a world-renowned astrophysicist who at the time of his death was the oldest member of the National Academy of Sciences, the past president of the prestigious Cosmos Club, and the longtime secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

When a man of his credentials is not taken seriously by The Establishment, what more is there to say? Except to ask what America's energy situation would be today if The Establishment had listened to, encouraged and underwritten Dr. Abbot's efforts 55 years

But if The Establishment has defaulted in its responsibility to be receptive to new concepts and responsive to new challenges in the aftermath of the energy crisis, it has all but destroyed its credibility in the closing hours of the Indochina crisis.

If ever a situation cried out for honesty with ourselves, it is here. For The Establishment has deluded itself—and misled the people.

ple—for a quarter of a century.

I can say this, because for a long, long time this particular member of The Establishment deluded himself about Vietnam, and I know I was not alone

It was not until 1968 that I began asking myself why the light at the end of the Vietnam tunnel kept going out before we reached it. And finally it came to me that those rosy readouts from the Pentagon and the State Department computers were the direct result of faulty programming.

Not only was the information fed into the computers of suspect accuracy, but motivation—the most crucial component of all—was never factored into the equation!

The entire analytical process was skewed from the outset by this glaring omission, and the blame rests squarely with The Establishment and its faulty assumption that the government of South Vietnam was a bastion of freedom and democracy its people would fight to the death to defend.

It is now tragically self-evident that neither 56,000 American lives nor 150 billion American dollars could make that asumption fact.

And I say to you here and now: The final, ultimate and most reprehensive betrayal of truth in this endless travesty is the misbegotten effort—already under way—to dump a load of guilt and anguish upon the American people for the fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia in order to save face for The Establishment and soothe the tender egos of those prophecies self-destructed before they self-fulfilled.

The American people didn't sell out South Vietnam and Cambodia.

They gave their dollars. And they gave their sons. Fifty-six thousand Americans died in Indochina. But so far as we know, not one Soviet or Chinese soldier fought on the side of the North Vietnamese.

The American people gave 34 times as much military aid to South Vietnam as the Communist powers gave to North Vietnam. And let the record show that, by the CIA's own estimates, we gave the South Vietnamese \$6.6 billion in assistance since the Paris peace accords were signed, while the Soviets and the Chinese were giving only \$2.7 billion to the North Vietnamese.

The American people gave again and again and again ... until to their everlasting credit they finally saw what The Establishment still refuses to see—that we were not supporting freedom-loving democratic governments, but callous despots who rigged their own elections, closed down critical newspapers and wallowed in bribery and corruption.

They saw the paradox of an Establishment boasting of detente with the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China but obsessed with crushing rebellions—inspired more by anti-colonialism and nationalism than by communism—in tiny southeast Asia countries.

They saw the inherent flaw in a foreign policy that allied us with authoritarian regimes whose sole claim to our support was not that they stood for freedom, but that they spoke against communism. They saw that the dominoes are falling not for lack of our support—but from their own inner rot.

They saw that from beginning to end, paradox, duplicity and self-delusion have presented us with an endless series of impossible options in Southeast Asia, including the final and agonizing choice of pledging more aid or risking the lives of those Americans still in Saigon to South Vietnamese reprisal!

No, my friends, the American people cannot—and must not—be blamed for the mistakes of The Establishment.

They deserve The Establishment's admission it was wrong.

They deserve The Establishment's pledge to see straight—and talk straight—from now on.

If the people are given the facts, if they are told the truth, if their judgment is respected by The Establishment, if the public dialogue is a two-way street, they will make what sacrifices are necessary; they will honor those national commitments that deserve to be honored.

There is nothing wrong with their compassion; nothing wrong with their courage; nothing wrong with their resolve.

But don't ever try to fool them again. Because they know better now.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, is there further morning business?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

RAILROAD TEMPORARY OPERAT-ING AUTHORITY ACT

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will now proceed to the consideration of S. 917 which the clerk will state by title

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 917) to amend the Interstate Commerce Act to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant temporary operating authority to a carrier by railroad pending final determination by the Commission.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with amendments.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum. I ask unanimous consent that the time not be charged against either side.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll. Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President,

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS UNTIL 1:30 P.M.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, without the time for the recess being charged against time on the bill, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now stand in recess until the hour of 1:30 p.m. today.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 12:44 p.m., recessed until 1:30 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. Bumpers).

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to address the Senate for 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator may proceed.

VISIT OF OFFICIAL NAVAL TRAIN-ING SHIP OF SPAIN

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, yesterday the Port of Miami was graced by the arrival of the official naval training ship of the Spanish nation. This visit to Miami was in celebration and is in celebration of the American Bicentennial and it is a grand and glorious gesture, making a very favorable impact on our south Florida community.

The inauguration ceremonies of this visit were attended by His Excellency, the Ambassador to Washington of Spain, Jaime Alba, by naval officials of the U.S. Coast Guard and Navy, and by officials of the county, city, and the United States.

As we commence our bicentennial year, it is appropriate to recall that the origin of settlement in this Nation was Spanish and occurred in the area of St. Augustine, Fla., more than 400 years ago, twice the bicentennial period that we celebrate. Those settlements took place, and the settlements still exist and, in fact, the relationship between my State and Spain has grown warmer and more friendly over the decades and over the centuries.

In this period when the nation of Portugal seems to be drifting or even galloping away from its commitment to the West, while we are in negotiations with

the Spanish Government for the renewal of our treaty arrangements for military and naval installations in that nation, it is appropriate that this celebration of the bicentennial spirit take place

I was gratified to learn, for example, that Spanish leaders greatly assisted in the American Revolution with men, with materiel, and with all sorts of support, and I wish to salute His Excellency, the Spanish Ambassador, for his warmth of friendship to this Nation.

I wish to salute the Captain de Fragata, Marcial Fournier Palicio, the officers and men of the Juan Sebastian De Elcano for their visit to Florida and to this Nation.

QUORUM CALL

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators entered the Chamber and answered to their

[Quorum No. 24 Leg.]

Hruska Bumpers Stone Mansfield Hansen Pearson Stafford

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quor-

um is not present.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Sergeant at Arms be instructed to request the attendance of absent Senators.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sergeant at Arms will execute the order of the Senate.

Pending the execution of the order, the following Senators entered the Chamber and answered to their names:

| Abourezk | Ford | Moss |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Allen | Garn | Muskie |
| Baker | Goldwater | Nunn |
| Bartlett | Gravel | Packwood |
| Bayh | Hart, Gary W. | Pastore |
| Beall | Hart, Philip A. | Pell |
| Bellmon | Haskell | Percy |
| Bentsen | Hatfield | Proxmire |
| Biden | Hathaway | Randolph |
| Brock | Huddleston | Ribicoff |
| Buckley | Humphrey | Roth |
| Burdick | Inouye | Schweiker |
| Byrd, | Jackson | Scott, Hugh |
| Harry F., Jr. | Javits | Scott, |
| Byrd, Robert C. | Johnston | William L. |
| Cannon | Kennedy | Sparkman |
| Case | Laxalt | Stennis |
| Chiles | Leahy | Stevens |
| Church | Magnuson | Stevenson |
| Clark | McClellan | Symington |
| Culver | McClure | Taft |
| Curtis | McGee | Talmadge |
| Dole | McGovern | Thurmond |
| Domenici | Metcalf | Tower |
| Eagleton | Mondale | Tunney |
| Eastland | Montoya | Williams |
| Fong | Morgan | |
| | | |

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I announce that the Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. GLENN), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Hollings), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. Long), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BAYH), and the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Nelson) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. McIntyre) is absent on official business.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. BROOKE), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. FANNIN) the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. HELMS), and the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. Young) are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Maryland (Mr. Mathias) is absent on official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BROCK). A quorum is present.

RAILROAD TEMPORARY OPERATING AUTHORITY ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill (S. 917) to amend the Interstate Commerce Act to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant temporary operating authority to a carrier by railroad pending final determination by the Commission.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I yield

to the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I am pleased that the Senate today has taken up for consideration the bill, S. 917, which I have introduced in order to provide the Interstate Commerce Commission with adequate tools to insure that a continuation of service is maintained on the Rock Island properties which are essential to communities and shippers throughout the 13-State region served by the carrier. This legislation is cosponsored by the distinguished Senators from Iowa (Mr. CLARK and Mr. CULVER), and the distinguished Senators from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE and Mr HUMPHREY).

After a full day of hearings on the Rock Island crisis, the Committee on Commerce met in executive session to consider whether additional legislative authority was needed to insure a continuation of service until a permanent plan of reorganization is considered and approved by the court and the Interstate Commerce Commission. The committee reported S. 917, with important and significant amendments, after a full discussion of the options available to the Congress.

Mr. President, the committee has concluded, along with the ICC, the DOT, and the Board of Directors of the U.S. Railway Association, that the financial situation of the Rock Island is hopeless. The carrier has lost money continuously since 1965. Because of the downturn in the economy and other factors, car loadings this year are down nearly 15 percent below 1 year ago. After the carrier lost some \$10 million in the first 2 months of 1975, the ICC estimated that the Rock Island would suffer an aggregate \$60 million cash drain during the current vear.

If a reasonable program of rehabilitation would put the carrier in a financially viable position, the U.S. Railway Association undoubtedly would have approved the requested \$100 million loan. But, the USRA Board determined that some \$700 million would be needed over a 10-year period to rehabilitate the Rock Island system. In order for this rehabilitation program to be successful, a down payment of some \$400 million would be needed now. Ultimately, the USRA Board of Directors rejected the request of the Rock Island for a \$100 million loan guarantee because, in the view of the USRA, the railroad had no hope of repaymentas the law requires.

It appeared to the committee, as it did to the USRA Board, that a loan to the railroad at this time, in order to maintain the status quo, would be a little more than a grant. Such a loan could be repaid only after liquidation of the company and the sale of its properties to

other railroads in the region.

The Rock Island railroad entered bankruptcy proceedings under section 77 of the Federal Bankruptcy Act on March 17. Mr. William Gibbons, a Chicago lawyer, was named by Federal District Judge Frank McGarr on March 28 as the trustee in bankruptcy. I am pleased to report that those who have had personal conversations with Mr. Gibbons are convinced that he is sensitive to the deep obligation, under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act, to maintain service at least until a plan of reorganization is submitted for court and ICC approval.

Mr. President, a railroad in bankruptcy may defer payment of taxes and interest on debt obligations. In bank-ruptcy the Rock Island will defer, at most, payment of \$8.2 million on an annual basis. This railroad has such a modest debt structure that an income based reorganization, under the Bankruptcy Act, is considered to be somewhat unlikely. Debt service has not been the problem for the Rock Island. Cash flow has been and continues to be a problem. The Rock Island's cash position has been the subject of almost daily scrutiny by the ICC and the DOT since the company's management announced early this year that obligations due and pay-

able could not be met.

Mr. President, the decision of the ICC on March 25 to authorize a nationwide 7-percent freight rate increase will reduce Rock Island projected losses for 1975 to about \$40 million. This is a substantial loss, of course, and must be considered a problem of major proportions by the trustee, the Court, the Commission, and the Congress. Nevertheless, it is not an unmanageable crisis, in view of the fact that cash savings are being achieved by deferral of interest and tax payments. The trustee will have an opportunity to undertake further initiatives to reduce cash drain. And finally, the trustee will have an opportunity to issue "trustee certificates," with the highest priority upon liquidation, to raise the necessary cash to continue operations. The DOT, moreover, has authority to guarantee up to \$23 million in trustee certificates of the Rock Island under the terms of the Emergency Rail Services Act of 1970. This obligational authority available to DOT under existing law is the remainder of the loan guarantees

approved by Congress to meet a comparable problem on the Penn Central more than 4 years ago.

Mr. President, much has been made of the fact that, upon recommendation of our committee, the Congress ultimately approved grants to continue service on the Penn Central and other bankrupt railroads in the Northeast.

The Congress approved grants for the Penn Central, however, only after the Court concluded that an unconstitutional erosion of the creditors' estate would result if further federally guaranteed trustee certificates were issued with high priority upon liquidation. The situation on the Rock Island today, of course, is materially different from that on the Penn Central. In the case of the Penn Central, the debt was enormous. The common stockholders' equity over the years had been reduced to the point where the stock was virtually worthless upon liquidation. In the case of the Rock Island, however, the trading was suspended at \$8 per share of common. The management of the Rock Island, in testimony before our committee, has estimated that the common equity in their company is between \$75 and \$100 per share. There is no doubt that the trustee of the Rock Island properties has adequate opportunity to issue trustee certificates in order to raise cash for continuing operations pending submission of a reorganization plan to the Court and to the Commission.

Therefore, Mr. President, it appears to the committee that the trustee of the Rock Island has adequate resources to continue operations without direct Federal loans or grants through calendar

1975, at the very least.

Mr. President, throughout the difficult weeks and months since the Rock Island management announced the current cash crises. I have been impressed by the thoughtful and prudent response of the various railway labor organizations who represent affected employees on the Rock Island lines. The representatives of rail labor have worked closely with the committee and staff throughout this process. and have sought with us an appropriate response which, in the long run, will ensure viable and comprehensive rail service to the affected region. As is always the case, the Railway Labor Executives in this crisis have been concerned not only for the positions of their members, but also for the communities and shippers served by this railroad throughout its 123-year history. On April 15, 1975, the Railway Labor Executives Association met in Washington to consider the Rock Island crisis. In the course of the meeting, a resolution was adopted which sets forth, in my judgment, a very responsible recommendation for the consideration of the trustee, the Court, the ICC, the Congress, and the administra-

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent that the text of the resolution on the Rock Island crisis, as adopted by the RLEA, be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the text was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION

The Railway Labor Executives' Association meeting in Washington, D.C., April 15, 1975, hereby adopts the following resolution concerning Congressional action to preserve the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway and other railroads and their operations in the States of Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma New Mexico, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas and Wisconsin (herein referred to as the Midwestern Region).

Whereas, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway and certain other railroads serve sixteen states in the Midwestern Region of the United States and are important connecting links in the commerce of the United States running on East-West and North-South main routes, as well as serving the entire region through numerous branch lines and secondary main lines. As an example, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific has a total trackage of 7,200 miles, operated by 11,000 employees; and

Whereas, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway is in reorganization under Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act as a result of its having insufficient funds to meet its debts as they matured and is unable to rehabilitate its lines of railroad, rolling stock, and other equipment in order to remain competitive and provide to the Midwestern Region of the United States efficient and

reliable service; and

Whereas, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway has been denied a guaranteed loan by the United States Railway Association, because the USRA Board of Directors has not considered such a loan guarantee to be permitted under the provisions of the Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973:

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Railway Labor Executives' Association, which Association represents 80% of the railroad employees in the United States, does hereby request the Congress of the United States to give the highest priority and favorable consideration to continuation and rehabilitation of the services of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway as well as other railroads in the Midwestern Region through legislative action which would:

(1) Urge the Trustee of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway to seek funds now available under the provisions of the Emergency Rail Services Act of 1970, in the form of loans secured by Trustee Certificates in amounts necessary to preserve service intact pending reorganization;

(2) Urge the Trustees to publicize receipt of adequate funds through the issuance of Trustee Certificates in order to restore shipper confidence in the continued operation of that railroad;

(3) Provide for emergency public service employment to rehabilitate railroad lines;

(4) Amend the Emergency Rail Services Act of 1970 as necessary to provide the required funds or amend the Regional Rail Reorganization Act in such manner as to permit the United States Railway Association to guarantee loans to the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway and other railroads in the Midwestern Region for the purpose of rehabilitation of said railroads' track, roadbed, related facilities and rolling stock in order to enable them to continue serving as important parts of our nation's railway transportation system; and

(5) Insure that the Midwestern Region of the United States has a healthy transportation system adequate to serve the present and future needs of that region and of the

United States.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, the RLEA in its resolution has recognized the affirmative duty of the trustee in bankruptcy to continue service pending

submission of a plan of reorganization. In its resolution, the RLEA has urged the trustees to utilize available loan guarantees if such guarantees are needed to secure trustee certificates for the continuation of service in the affected 13-State region. The Congress is admonished to insure that adequate authority is available under either the Emergency Rail Services Act of 1970 or the Regional Rail Reorganization Act to facilitate financing in the private sector for this essential transportation purpose. Inasmuch as \$23 million in unexpended obligational authority is now available under the 1970 act, it would be appropriate for Congress to defer consideration of any loan or guarantee program for the Rock Island until existing remedies in law are fully exhausted.

Mr. President, in the fifth paragraph of the RLEA resolution, the unions have petitioned the Congress to "insure that the Midwestern region of the United States has a healthy transportation system adequate to serve the present and future needs of that region and of the United States."

I fully endorse this position, and I am confident that our committee will continue to work for this goal in the months ahead.

Mr. President, the committee urges the Senate to approve S. 917, as reported, to insure that, under all circumstances, the ICC has adequate authority to assure a continuation of adequate and essential services on the Rock Island properties. The authority contained in S. 917, as reported by the committee, is comparable to authority contained in part 2 of the act with respect to motor carriers. Under the terms of the bill, the ICC is authorized, on an emergency basis, to grant a petitioning railroad temporary authority to operate properties of a defunct railroad if such temporary authority is essential to maintain services and to avoid destruction or injury to the properties of the defunct carrier.

Under the terms of S. 917, as reported by the committee, those employees of the Rock Island, or any other railroad in comparable circumstances, who might be affected adversely by any orders issued. would be assured fair and equitable arrangements by the ICC in its orders. Thus, I stress that the terms of S. 971 in no way disadvantage any railroad employee. On the contrary, the fair and equitable arrangements for affected employees insure that, in the event of a Rock Island collapse, additional employees would be protected who, under existing law, are assured no protection.

Mr. President, under existing law, the ICC has authority in section 1(16)(b) of the act to order profitable railroads to operate over the lines of a defunct carrier to perform essential services for up to 8 months. The Government would be obligated to reimburse the operating carrier under this provision of the act. Section 1(16)(b) authority is adequate to protect the most essential services; however, there are other services currently performed by the Rock Island which might not be continued. The authority contained in S. 917, if exercised by the Commission upon application by operating carriers, could expand the service program supervised and administered by the ICC following a Rock Island collapse. Therefore, it provides the Commission with a needed tool to insure that the most comprehensive possible service program and pattern be continued indefinitely.

Mr. President, S. 917, as reported by the committee, contains amendments recommended by the Department of Transportation to provide timely payment to operating carriers under section 1(16)(b). Under existing law, carriers ordered to operate essential properties of a defunct carrier under section 1(16)(b) could be required to wait many months before reimbursement by the Government. S. 917 contains an amendment to this subparagraph to provide monthly reimbursement to the operating carriers.

Mr. President, I would urge the Senate to approve S. 917 as a bill which could be useful in the event that, notwithstanding his authority to issue trustee certificates, the trustee in bankruptcy of the Rock Island properties decides that the railroad should be shut down.

Although the committee does not view it as appropriate for the trustee to terminate services on the Rock Island properties at this time, or in the foreseeable future, it is possible that he may descide otherwise. In the event that this latter decision is reached by the trustee, the terms of S. 917, as it is being considered in the Senate today, will provide an appropriate and needed response.

Mr. HARTKE, Mr. President, I wish to join my distinguished colleague, the ranking minority member of the Surface Transportation Subcommittee. Senator WEICKER of Connecticut in urging the Senate to pass S. 917. This bill is designed to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant temporary approval of the operation of one railroad by another railroad if failure to grant such temporary approval would result in destruction of rail properties or a substantial limitation upon their future usefulness in the performance of service to the public. The Interstate Commerce Commission already has similar authority under part II of the act, which deals with motor carriers, and this merely extends similar provisions to part I of the act in order to deal with a possible emergency in rail service.

The exercise of this ability would result in no direct cost to the Federal Government and could provide for the continuation of essential services on railroads where those services might be threatened with a cessation of operations. The legislation emerged from the cash crisis facing Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad. Because of the precarious condition of the Rock Island one of the major carriers in the Midwest, my subcommittee recently held hearings on the possible legislative solutions to this crisis. At the time of the nearings, the Rock Island announced that it would soon run out of cash and would, therefore, be forced to embargo traffic and suspend service or enter reorganization proceedings under section 77 of the Bankruptcy

Since that hearing the latter course of action has been followed, and reorganization court has appointed a trustee to oversee the Rock Island's operations. A recently granted rate increase by the Interstate Commerce Commission, in combination with the deferal of charges through the reorganization process has led to a more favorable cash picture for the Rock Island. White the situation has somewhat stabilized, there still needs to be a long range planning effort and rehabilitation effort in the Midwest. I should caution my colleagues here in the Senate today that the bill before us merely provides the Commission with additional tools to deal with emergencies that might arise in the future-in my opinion, it probably does not provide the long range answer to the need to thoroughly upgrade the rail system serving the Midwest portion of the United States. In the coming days, the Senate Commerce Committee will be considering a number of pieces of legislation which are designed to make major policy changes toward rail transportation throughout the United States. Without these basic policy changes, not only will the Midwest be in further jeopardy, but the rest of the Nation should also expect to face serious crises in connection with the provision of essential rail services.

Mr. President, the hearings held by the Surface Transportation Subcommittee made it clear that the Rock Island is not the only railroad in the Midwest facing financial difficulties. At the same time. there was strong support for the view that the government should not immediately intervene with additional financial assistance other than that now provided by law to continue essential services in case one or more of these marginal carriers should be faced with a cessation of service. The Senate Commerce Committee evaluated all of the possible options for dealing with the need to upgrade rail service in the Midwest, and decided that substantial financial assistance should not occur without a coordinated planning effort to assure that that assistance creates a better long range system adequate to serve the needs of that region. The additional tools of S. 917 is designed to give the Interstate Commerce Commission will permit the ICC to assure the continuation of essential services while that long range planning effort is carried out. It allows other railroads to provide services on a temporary basis until a long term solution can be effectuated.

Mr. President, it has already been pointed out that this provision contains adequate labor protection provisions which will assure that fair and equitable labor protection conditions can be imposed by the Interstate Commerce Commission should it choose to exercise the authority granted by this legislation.

This legislation would also amend section 1(16)(b) of the Interstate Commerce Act to provide greater flexibility to the Commission in issuing emergency service orders under that provision of existing law. This minor technical change is also designed to insure that there will be adequate authority to continue essential operations in the event of a cessation

of rail service by permitting a more timely payment to railroads ordered to take up service on the lines of another railroad. It is a measure of the health of the entire railroad industry that the Congress needs to address the payment periods for services performed pursuant to section 1(16)(b). The simple fact of the matter is that many railroads could not sustain a 180-day billing cycle; this amendment permits more frequent payments to insure an adequate cash flow.

Mr. President, I commend the efforts of the distinguished ranking minority member of the Commerce Committee, Mr. Pearson, in introducing this bill. I feel it helps to assure the continuation of essential rail services should we be faced with more emergencies, and I commend

its provisions to the Senate.

S. 917 is not the final solution to the rail transportation problems of the Midwest-or any other region, for that matter. When my subcommittee held hearings on the Rock Island crisis, it was clear that two actions by the Congress are necessary: First, action to deal with a possible cessation of service by a rail carrier such as the Rock Island that is financially unable to continue operations; second, long-range action designed to create a healthy rail system in the Midwest and the rest of our Nation. The reason that the committee decided not to grant massive assistance to the Rock Island is that the Rock Island is not the only rail carrier that is in financial trouble. In the Midwest, for instance, both the Chicago and Northwestern and the Milwaukee Road are in a relatively precarious state. Furthermore, there is a substantial amount of excess trackage in the Midwest-we do not need six mainline direct routes between Chicago and Omaha, for instance. If the sort of massive Federal assistance that would be required to rebuild the Rock Island were provided by the Congress, it would not solve the rail transportation problems of the Midwest. In fact, we would still be faced with a Midwestern rail transportation system burdened with excessive trackage and marginal rail carriers even if the Rock Island became a healthy carrier.

Over the next months, the Senate Commerce Committee will be working on a more comprehensive approach to the rail transportation problems of not only the Midwest, but the entire Nation. We will be looking at rail trust funds, government ownership or assistance to rehabilitate roadbeds, and many other concepts designed to bring our rail transportation system to the place it needs to be. Another concept we intend to examine is the possible role of the U.S. Railway Association in the Midwest. A planning and consolidation effort in that region similar to the effort now underway in the Northeast may be necessary. It is clear, however, that funds should not be provided without a long-range plan for improvement. I think it is important to remember that the Commerce Committee has not recommended further interim operating assistance for the northeastern railroads such as the Penn Central without tying those funds to the development and implementation of a longrange plan designed to alleviate the problem. We do not intend to do so in the Midwest either.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the

distinguished Senator yield?

Mr. PEARSON. I was yielded to by the distinguished Senator from Indiana. With his concurrence, I am pleased to yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. I commend the distinguished Senator from Kansas for the time and attention he has given to this matter. As I understand it, without the passage of this bill, the only way service could be provided to those areas that must have it would be for the ICC to order that another company extend the service, and then pick up the check for

all their losses; is that correct?

Mr. PEARSON. The Senator is substantially correct. Of course, the service could be continued by the order of the bankruptcy court. But if full service could not be assured under the bankruptcy proceeding, the Senator is absolutely correct: The only way to maintain service would be for the ICC to issue orders and the Federal Government would have to reimburse directed carriers to the extent that they do not earn a reasonable profit from such directed service.

Mr. CURTIS. But this will broaden the authority of the ICC, and put upon them the responsibility of shopping around to see if they can get another carrier to volunteer to serve the same lines without cost to the Government?

Mr. PEARSON. The Senator is correct. Mr. CURTIS. And that is basically the reason for the statement in the report that:

The administration of this act will entail no appreciable additional cost.

Mr. PEARSON. The Senator is correct. Mr. CURTIS. It is true that we cannot turn the calendar back and complain about mistakes of the past; that does not solve the problem now. On the other hand. I think it is important that in all areas of the Government we do look at the mistakes of the past in order to avoid the same mistakes in the future.

It was quite apparent for a long time that the Rock Island was losing money and was headed for trouble, and an attempt was made to merge it with other roads in order to serve the public, and at the same time give to management a situation that apparently could operate

without a loan.

Can the Senator tell us why that mer-

ger never went through?

Mr. PEARSON. The ICC did finally issue an order providing for a merger, but the merger proceeding is not administratively final. It has taken some 12 years, but that is because the parties to the merger proceeding have been contesting every step of the way. Procedures within the ICC and conflicting interests among the various parties drew this matter out to the extent that, as the Senator may know, it was the new Secretary of Transportation's recommendation in the past week that Congress act on some type of legislation which would remove merger proceedings from within the jurisdiction of the ICC.

So I would say to the Senator that there is a good deal of blame that can be passed around among all parties involved

One of the reasons why it is suggested that perhaps there would be no really great chance for reorganization under the Bankruptcy Act is the fact that the track and roadbed maintenance has been deferred and the costs of building the railroad up are so very great. Nothing has been done for a long time. There is equity in the stock, trustee certificates can be issued, and there can be a maintenance of service as a result of the bankruptcy proceedings themselves. It is thought that this is a matter very much different from the Penn Central, in that the Penn Central was down to rock bottom, no equity was left in any stock, and the assets were being dissipated from day

The point is that you cannot have merger proceedings and have them run through some 12 years and have any sort of viable solution.

Mr. CURTIS. If the Senator will yield briefly for an observation-

Mr. PEARSON. Of course.

Mr. CURTIS. I do not wish to unfairly reflect upon any member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, now or at any time in the last 50 years.

Mr. PEARSON. They are prisoners of

their own rules and procedures.

Mr. CURTIS. In any personal way, or anyone that works for them. Nevertheless, of all the antiquated agencies of the U.S. Government, they get the prize. They have not changed their procedures in the last 100 years. Not only does it take 10 or 11 years to get an answer on a merger matter that is of vital importance, their other procedures are just as bad. I know of one situation where a fairly small truckline was being acquired by a railroad company. Year after year went by. The seller could not find out whether he should renew the insurance on his trucks, whether he should get new licenses, whether he should repair them. whether he should buy tires-the thing was just pending in Washington.

In this day and age that is intolerable, and I do direct this criticism, not against anyone personally, but against the institution of the ICC. Not only are their procedures and laws antiquated, and while it is true that Congress writes the laws, they have been on the spot in charge of this, charged with public responsibility to provide us with transportation, and they have not come before Congress often enough and with sufficient vigor to demand changes in laws and procedures so we could have an Interstate Commerce Commission that served the public interest in a quick, efficient, and just way.

I thank my friend for yielding.

Mr. PEARSON. I thank the Senator. I might say that I think this is meritorious, and that I hope we will do some good work in that field.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. PEARSON. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. First, I commend the Senator on his assessment of the problems of the ICC, which I have been studying over a period of years, and found them so complicated and frustrating that, in fact, I have been tempted from time to time to advocate the abolition of the ICC.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, I do that several times a year, when we cannot get boxcars. So far I have not succeeded, but I

keep on trying.

Mr. TAFT. I do, too. But in connection with this particular matter, it seems to me, on initial, cursory examination of it, that even though we have a bankrupt company here, it is in the order that we would establish here that a railroad could come in and start operating with ICC approval over the tracks of the Rock Island; they would be doing so without any compensation, and I have serious question. from a constitutional point of view, whether that is possible if it is true. Will the Senator tell me whether or not in his opinion that is the case, or what was the resolution by the committee of that question?

Mr. PEARSON. The bill seeks to be implemented in this way: Railroads would petition the ICC for authority to operate over lines where service was essential and necessary. The ICC could then issue an order granting temporary operating authority. Any losses are to be borne by the railroads seeking permission to operate.

Mr. TAFT. That is, their revenues and their losses, if I understand the Senator correctly. It does not go to the question of what the interest of the stockholders or the creditors of the Rock Island might be with regard to being compensated for what is obviously, if there should be profits, something of some value.

Mr. PEARSON. The partial answer to

that, of course, is that the Rock Island Railroad is now in bankruptcy proceedings under section 77.

Mr. TAFT. That is certainly true, but that does not mean-

Mr. PEARSON. Where the court has the authority not only to protect the interests of the creditors, but of all interested parties.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator from Ohio that the situation is such that where the Rock Island is concerned, it would be impossible for it to successfully claim any right to reimbursement for usage of its track or other facilities.

Mr. TAFT. I agree, but it seems to me that if this is something of value that is being taken in this situation, and it is of some value because of the question of profit or loss in it, and there is some property there which ultimately would have to go to creditors for the Rock Island, I wonder if the trustee in bankruptcy would not have the obligation to bring a lawsuit to test this particular piece of legislation if we do not take care of this problem and compensate the Rock Island. What remains of the Rock Island and the various holdings in it for the use of the services of the line?

Mr. HARTKE. Let me say there are a number of things in this bill that are not as protective or generous as they could be, but I do not believe it would be subject to a successful lawsuit. In the first place, there is a limitation to the initial order of 180 days, to begin with. That is one provision.

If the Senator would read on page 8 of the report, if the Senator has that print before him, if he will look down there, it is an initial period for not to exceed 180 days. It must be found that grant authority might result in destruction or injury to the property for them to go ahead and the operation; also if the Senator would read down to the next line:

"... if it shall appear that failure to grant such temporary approval may result in destruction of or injury to such railroad properties or in a substantial limitation upon their future usefulness in the performance of adequate and continuous service to the public:"

I do not know how one could draw it any more clearly. As far as Rock Island is concerned, they are in a position where a service which is necessary to the public would be continued; that the continuation of that service would be for a limited period of time, and that it would not result in the reduction of the usefulness of that property for the future.

Mr. TAFT. I understand that. But it still does not seem to me to answer the question of service having some value that it does have, and they would be interested in it. It is true it has a value. If you are going to take it away for 180 days, if you take a house away from somebody for 180 days, it is depriving him of property without due process of law.

Mr. PEARSON. May I say to the Senator the petitions which would come forward under this particular provision would be filed in anticipation of cessation of the service involved. The railroad not only is in bankruptcy but is about to shut down its operations.

In addition to that, the ICC, in the issuance of its orders, can attach such conditions as it deems necessary. They might very well do that in the face of any sort of a constitutional question.

Mr. TAFT. Does the Senator think they could require the payment before the service?

Mr. PEARSON. Yes, the bill provides for the attachment of terms and conditions.

Mr. HARTKE. Let me also say that it has repeatedly been held in situations of this kind that the requirement of public convenience and necessity, the requirement for public service there. carries with it certain obligations, and one of the obligations is to the public itself. When a carrier is relieved of that obligation, which under normal circumstances it would be required to perform. it is not only an advantage to them but also to the stockholders of the railroad. even though it is in reorganization. Of course, when they are in reorganization they are under the jurisdiction of the court to begin with.

This is a case of very limited application. What we are saying is it is very limited but, at the same time, it is a very specific case we are addressing ourselves to, and that is the immediate question of the Rock Island Railroad. It is not one which is going to be unique, in my judgment.

Mr. TAFT. If the Senator will yield further, there is no question, I take it, that the Rock Island or the trustee in bankruptcy for the Rock Island actually owns the right-of-way involved.

Mr. HARTKE. Yes, they own it; and they have an obligation to use it, and that obligation, if it is not fulfilled, then three is an obligation to permit someone else to provide for that service.

Mr. TAFT. But the Senator does agree that the ICC, in arranging and approving the use of the track by others, can order compensation to the Rock Island if they

find it necessary.

Mr. PEARSON. I might say to the Senator that the law already on the books today, section 1(16)(b) of the Interstate Commerce Act, says that the ICC has the authority when there is a cessation of service to order other railroads to provide that service, and if it does so the Federal Government must reimburse directed carriers to the extent that directed service does not result in a reasonable profit. That comes out of the Federal Treasury.

This is an additional provision which is voluntary in nature, which is not meant—I want to emphasize—to implement the merger plan which has been developed after some 12 years of study, but it provides that the carrier applying for temporary authority would bear any losses.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEARSON. Yes; I yield to the Senator.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I feel somewhat like the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. Curtis) and the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Taft) about the ICC. It seems as if every time a railroad which crosses the State of Montana applies to the ICC for a rate increase, it is automatically granted, and it is granted in a hurry.

I introduced a bill some years ago—not too many years ago—to abolish the ICC because it is not only the rate structures which they increase all the time, but it is also the lack of boxcars to take care of our wheat and other commodity shipments from the State of Montana east and west.

I believe I read in the newspaper the other day that the trustees in bankruptcy of the Penn Central got pretty hefty raises in their pay; is that true?

Mr. PEARSON. I think that is correct, Mr. MANSFIELD. Whereas on the Rock Island there have been firings and reductions in pay.

Mr. PEARSON. The Senator is correct. Mr. MANSFIELD. Now, on page 8 it states under "Estimated Cost of the Legislation":

The administration of this act will entail no appreciable additional cost.

Can the Senator inform the Senate what he means by no appreciable additional costs in the figures?

Mr. PEARSON. The whole thrust of the bill is to provide service at no additional cost to the Federal Government, I would assume that that language was put in there because there might be additional costs in the administration in the ICC itself.

Mr. MANSFIELD. In the ICC? Mr. PEARSON. In the ICC itself. Mr. MANSFIELD. How many commissioners does the ICC have and how big a staff does it have? Eleven commissioners. I think it might be well if that could be furnished for the Record. It is a big old outfit. It has a lot of clout. It has helped to create a bureaucracy which, I am sure, has not shrunk with the years any more than any other Government bureaucracy.

Mr. PEARSON. If the Senator will yield, I am told the estimated number of the staff of the ICC is in the range of

2,000.

Mr. MANSFIELD. 2,000.

Now, S. 917 is:

A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant temporary operating authority to a carrier by railroad pending final determination by the Commission.

What is the Commission's final determination going to be? Does the Senator have any idea?

Mr. PEARSON. The final determination of the reorganization of the railroad itself.

Mr. HARTKE. Let me make two points on that, if the Senator will yield.

Mr. PEARSON. I yield.

Mr. HARTKE. First, a railroad. It can be renewed by the commission under certain conditions. But these railroads are in reorganization, which means, very simply, under chapter 77 of the bankruptcy law that they are being administered by trustees under the jurisdiction of the court.

The ultimate determination of that, certainly, is not going to be made by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The ultimate decision is going to be made within the framework of the court, or other than that, within the framework, hopefully, of some type of legislative procedure which we can come forward within the future.

But as far as the Rock Island is concerned at this moment, that provision in the title of the act means, very simply, this is temporary authority granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission within the framework of the overall jurisdiction of the reorganization court.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the Senator.
Mr. HARTKE. Let me point out one other thing. I doubt whether there would be any cost whatsoever under this bill. I really cannot see it, but I think rather than have a flat statement that there would be no cost whatsoever, it was our judgment if there was some additional administrative cost—such as sending people out there to do the work, or something of that kind which could not be performed under our procedures—would be providing some protection. There is no anticipation of any additional cost.

Let me say one thing to the Senator from Ohio about the constitutional and legal question. Under the cases and under the testing of the constitutionality of the Regional Reorganization Act. I think this matter has been really thoroughly litigated. I do not believe it is open to question whatsoever.

Mr. TAFT. I thank the Senator for his comments.

Mr. HARTKE. Let me make one fur-

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ther comment. There is always the provisions of the Tucker Act. If there has been some undue taking under the due process clause, that always is available.

But let me say, I do not think it would be available under this legislation. I think it is available, but I do not think it would apply.

Mr. TAFT. It would not apply because the Senator feels if compensation is due, the ICC-

Mr. HARTKE. That is right. I think Senator Pearson put his finger on that. But no compensation is justified.

This authority is already contained in section 2 of the Interstate Commerce Act in regard to motor carriers. It is not new in that regard.

Mr. TAFT. The motor carriers run on the public highways, not on the right-ofway run by the trustee in bankruptcy.

Mr. HARTKE. It is basically the same thing. They receive their certificate of public convenience and necessity. They receive their certificate and authorization to go over these routes and that certificate has with it an obligation of performance.

Mr. TAFT. That is correct.

Mr. HARTKE. And with that obligation in performance, when they cease to perform that service, that in and of it-

Mr. TAFT. But the trustee in bankruptcy of the Rock Island does not own his right-of-way.

Mr. HARTKE. The trustee in bankruptcy

Mr. TAFT. He may to operate, but not

on the right-of-way.

Mr. HARTKE. He owns the right-ofway and also to use that right-of-way, but when he fails in that performance he has forfeited his rights. In any case, they are losing money.

Mr. TAFT. I will not press the amendment at this time, but I have read the language of the act. I think the implications of it are to the contrary. Perhaps by legislative history here, we have established legislative history to say the ICC does have authority to pay compensation if required, but I do not read the language that way.

In fact, the prior clause relating to protecting the fair and equitable arrangement, protect the interests of the railroad employees, would seem to imply to me, perhaps, there is not anybody else that-

Mr. PEARSON. May I respond to the Senator by saying that I am not certain that the language was drawn at the time to anticipate the issue that the Senator has properly raised, but I think there is authority there, and will say so in relation to the legislative history, that that kind of condition could be implied and enforced by the ICC in granting the petition, or that, as the Senator from Indiana said, the Tucker Act is still there to compensate carriers.

Mr. TAFT. I thank the Senator for that remark. I think that does pretty clearly establish legislative history.

Mr. PEARSON. Will the Senator yield for a second?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HAT-FIELD). The time of the Senator from Kansas has expired.

Mr. HARTKE. I yield the Senator additional time.

Mr. PEARSON. I thank the Senator from Indiana

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I have no further comments to make and I am ready for the third reading of the bill.

Mr. DOLE. Will the Senator yield

Mr. HARTKE. Yes.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, although I have no particularly strenuous objection to this bill-and in fact recognize there may come a time when the authority it provides could be useful—I question just how necessary it really is in dealing with the immediate problems involving the Rock Island Railroad.

As originally conceived, that is, S. 917 sought to permit what would amount to implementation of a temporary merger arrangement between two willing carriers. Specifically, it would have allowed principally the Union Pacific—through mandate of the ICC-to proceed with its operation of Rock Island routes pending final formal approval of a consolidation between the two lines.

Now, however, Union Pacific has disaffirmed its merger intent and presumably would not be agreeable to taking over Rock Island services on that basis. Moreover, the Rock Island's own bargaining position is at best clouded by its section

77 reorganization status.

I am a little concerned, therefore, that until Rock Island's ultimate destiny can be determined, this legislation may further complicate and confuse matters. There might even be a serious constitutional problem arising if, for example, another carrier who desires a "piece of the Rock" makes the designated application to the ICC who-in all its wisdomdetermines that the "substantial destruction" or "future usefulness" requirements have been met with respect to a part of the Rock Island properties.

Of course, we are supposed to assume that this bill contemplates a partial shutdown or discontinuation of essential services—but it does not, after all, say that. Accordingly, we could fully expect-in the case of an ICC finding with which the Rock Island or a carrier in similar circumstances does not acquiesce-the authority provided by S. 917 to be chal-

lenged in Court.

While I am not inclined to vote against this measure in the event a rollcall is taken, I really believe we could better concentrate our efforts on other proposals-such as that introduced with my cosponsorship by the distinguished Senators from Oklahoma and Arkansas (Mr. BARTLETT and Mr. McClellan). I refer to S. 1306, which would go a long way towards stabilizing the Rock Island situation until a longer-range solution can be worked out

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the first committee amendment.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendments be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the committee amendments are considered and agreed to en bloc.

The committee amendments agreed to en bloc are as follows:

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS

On page 1, beginning on line 8, strike out the following:

"(g) Pending the determination of an application filed with the Commission for approval of a consolidation or merger of the properties of two or more carriers by railroad; or of a purchase, lease, acquisition of control, or contract to operate the properties of one or more carriers by railroad; or of acquisition by a carrier by railroad of trackage rights over, or joint ownership in or joint use of any railroad line or lines owned or operated by any other such carrier, and terminals incident thereto,"

And insert in lieu thereof:

"Upon application by a carrier by railroad";

On page 2, in line 9, following the word "Grant", insert the words "such carrier" in line 10, following the words "180 days," strike the words "of the operation of" and insert the words "to operate"; beginning in line 11, following the words 'railroad properties" strike out the words "or property rights sought to be acquired by the party or parties proposing in such pending application to acquire such properties or property rights," and insert the words "owned or operated by another carrier by railroad,"; beginning in line 17, following the word "or" strike the words "property rights sought to be acquired, or to interfere substantially with" and insert the words "in a substantial limitation upon"; beginning in line 20, following the word "public" strike the period and insert the follow-

": Provided, That as a condition of its approval of any such application under this subparagraph, the Commission shall require a fair and equitable arrangement to protect the interests of the railroad employees affected.";

On page 3, beginning in line 2, following the word "warrant" strike the period and insert the following ", including but not limited to terms and conditions providing for modification or revocation of such order."; beginning in line 4, strike out the words "Extension of such temporary authority beyond 180 days may be determined by the Commission" and insert the words "The Commission may extend such temporary authority beyond 180 days"; beginning in line 7, following the word "or" strike out the words "it may determine the need therefor": beginning in line 8, following the word "initiative." ." insert the following:

"Every 60 days, the Commission shall report to the Congress upon the effect of all such orders issued under this subparagraph in effect during such 60-day period on competition between carriers by railroad subject to this part: Provided, That such a report shall not be required for any such period during which no such orders are in effect.";

Beginning on line 15, insert a new section as follows:

"SEC. 3. (a) Section 1(16)(b)(A) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(16) (b) (A)) is amended to read as follows:

(A) Such direction shall be effective for no longer than 60 days unless extended or renewed by the Commission for cause shown for an additional period or periods. Such additional period or periods shall not exceed in the aggregate 180 days. At the time of any such extension or renewal, the Commission may alter or amend its direction with respect to such carrier by substituting another carrier or carriers for a directed carrier or otherwise.".

(b) Section 1(16) (b) (E) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(16) (b) (E)) is amended by striking "90 days after expiration of such order" and inserting in lieu thereof "30 days after the last day of each calendar month during which such costs are incurred".;

So as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Railroad Temporary Operating Authority Act."

Operating Authority Act". SEC. 2. Section 5(2) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 5(2)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following

new subsection:

Upon application by a carrier by railroad the Commission may, in its discretion, and without hearing, grant such carrier temporary approval, for a period not exceeding 180 days, to operate all or part of the railroad properties owned or operated by another carrier by railroad, if it shall appear that failure to grant such temporary approval may result in destruction of or injury to such railroad properties in a substantial limitation upon their future usefulness in the performance of adequate and continuous service to the public: Provided, That as a condition of its approval of any such application under this subparagraph, the Commission shall require a fair and equitable arrangement to protect the interests of the railroad employees affected. The Commission may, in its discretion, attach to any order granting such temporary approval such terms and condi-tions as in its judgment the circumstances surrounding such temporary approval shall warrant, including but not limited to terms and conditions providing for modification or revocation of such order. The Commission may extend such temporary authority beyond 180 days upon written request by an interested party, or upon its own initiative.". Every 60 days, the Commission shall report to the Congress upon the effect of all such orders issued under this subparagraph in effect during such 60-day period on competition between carriers by railroad subject to this part: Provided, That such a report shall not be required for any such period during which no such orders are in effect.

SEC. 3. (a) Section 1(16)(b)(A) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(16)(b)(A)) is amended to read as follows:

"(A) Such direction shall be effective for no longer than 60 days unless extended on renewed by the Commission for cause shown for an additional designated period or periods. Such additional period or periods shall not exceed in the aggregate 180 days. At the time of any such extension or renewal, the Commission may alter or amend its direction with respect to such carrier by substituting another carrier or carriers for a directed carrier, or otherwise."

(b) Section 1(16) (b) (E) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(16) (b) (E)) is amended by striking "90 days after expiration of such order" and inserting in lieuthereof "30 days after the last day of each calendar month during which such costs are

incurred".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. President, the legislation before the Senate for consideration at this time was introduced by the

distinguished ranking minority member of our Committee on Commerce (Mr. PEARSON), for himself, and Senators CLARK, CULVER, HUMPHREY, and MONDALE. It would amend the Interstate Commerce Act so as to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission-ICC-to grant temporary operating authority to a carrier by railroad to operate all or part of the railroad properties operated by another carrier by railroad; and, more specifically, it is designed to vest in the ICC the complete authority needed to insure the continuation of essential rail services in the region served by the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad Co.-Rock Island.

Mr. President, the Rock Island in recent weeks entered reorganization under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act. It has a severe cash shortage problem which might at any time necessitate cessation of its rail service. Such a cessation of rail service by the Rock Island would result in significant economic hardship to the affected region. The Rock Island operates more than 7,000 miles of rail lines in 13 Midwestern States and employs approximately 10,000 people. While several other railroads provide competitive service in the Rock Island's territory, the Rock Island is the only carrier available to a substantial number-as much as 30 percent-of the shippers in the affected region. For example, 180 grain elevators in Kansas depend exclusively for rail service on the Rock Island. The Federal Energy Administration estimates that alternative motor carrier service for these elevators could require 669,000 movements per year and could consume as much as 22.2 million gallons of diesel fuel. Thus, continuation of many of the services provided by the Rock Island is essential to the maintenance of the economy in the affected region.

Mr. President, I am well aware of the reluctance of many members of this body to extend additional financial assistance to marginal railroads. Certainly, that issue has been fully aired in this chamber during the deliberations on the Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973 and amendments thereto. However, Mr. President, S. 917 would not provide any financial assistance to the Rock Island or any other railroad. Rather, it would provide the ICC with the authority necessary to continue Rock Island services without such assistance in instances when other railroads are willing to operate Rock Island properties on a temporary basis.

Mr. President, I find myself once again taking the floor to manage an emergency bill to address the impending collapse of a major American railroad. Once again the Federal Government is stepping into the breach to provide for continuation of vital rail services to communities in the several States.

Mr. President, as I have repeated time and again, it is becoming increasingly difficult for me to sponsor and sell stop-gap measures to prop up our deteriorating railroads. Earlier this year, it was a bailout for the bankrupt Penn Central; today we propose to allow the ICC to grant temporary operating authority to other rail carriers to operate the proper-

ties of the Rock Island; tomorrow, who knows what patchwork scheme will be advanced to save rail service in one part or another of the country?

Mr. President, I confess my frustration with the pending legislation. On the one hand, it embodies a reasonable interim solution in situations when a railroad is unable to continue service by expanding the options available to the ICC before the actual crisis situation. On the other hand, little in the way of a cure, let alone a proper diagnosis, of the sickness that is sapping the life out of the railroad industry has been forthcoming.

Therefore, I call on my colleagues to focus on those initial efforts by the U.S. Railway Association, the Rail Services Planning Office, the Department of Transportation, and others, to develop a comprehensive plan to put the Nation's railroads on the right track as a viable, competitive, and energy-efficient transportation mode for America's future.

The Congress has acted to resolve the railroad problem in the Northeast region of our country, and I believe it should also take action with regard to similar problems in the Midwest and other regions. Therefore, pending a comprehensive resolution of the problems confronting all of our Nation's railroads, I urge the favorable consideration by the Senate of the pending bill, S. 917, as an appropriate response to the critical situation confronting the region served by the Rock Island.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, when S. 917 was originally introduced in the Senate on March 3, 1975. I had asked that my name be added as a cosponsor to that bill. It was my opinion that the best solution to the Rock Island crisis was to allow the railroad industry itself to solve its problems by expediting a long-sought merger between the Union Pacific Railroad Co. and the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad Co.

The Union Pacific has since indicated that it is no longer interested in a merger, and the Rock Island filed for reorganization in bankruptcy on March 17. Therefore, S. 917 no longer offers the solution for which it was originally introduced.

S. 917 places discretionary power in the Interstate Commerce Commission—ICC—to order the temporary operation of one railroad by another railroad, "if it shall appear that failure to grant such temporary approval may result in the destruction of or injury to such railroad properties or in a substantial limitation upon their future usefulness in the performance of adequate and continuous service to the public."

I have serious reservations about the ability of the ICC to carry out the new discretionary powers it would have under this bill in light of its ability to carry out its responsibilities under the Interstate Commerce Act as it is now written and under which it has operated for many years.

My distinguished colleague from Ohio, Senator Taff, has raised serious questions regarding the constitutionality of this bill and I share those concerns also.

This bill does not help the Rock Island. It does potentially contain provisions that could be harmful to other railroads that are in a financially unstable condition.

I am deeply concerned also that the Commerce Committee has suggested in its report—S.R. 62—on page 7 that:

Future action may include the need for reorganization of the railroads in the Midwest under a plan similar to that provided for the railroads in the Northeast and Midwest in the Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973.

If the railroad reorganization of the Northeast is an example of a solution for the problem of the railroads of the Midwest, I oppose such an approach, just as I oppose this bill.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my name be withdrawn from

S. 917 as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, its is so ordered.

Does the Senator from Indiana yield back his time?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On whose time?

Mr. HARTKE. On my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without

objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

The bill (S. 917) was passed.

The title was amended so as to read:

A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant temporary operating authority to a carrier by railroad and for other purposes.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table. The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill (S. 917) be printed in the Record as passed, and that copies be printed for the use of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The bill (S. 917) as passed, reads as

S. 917

To amend the Interstate Commerce Act to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant temporary operating authority to a carrier by railroad, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Railroad Temporary Operating Authority Act".

SEC. 2. Section 5(2) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 5(2)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(g) Upon application by a carrier by railroad the Commission may, in its discretion, and without hearing, grant such carrier temporary approval, for a period not exceeding 180 days, to operate all or part of the railroad properties owned or operated by another carrier by railroad, if it shall appear that failure to grant such temporary approval may result in destruction of or injury to such railroad properties or in a substantial limitation upon their future usefulness in the performance of adequate and continuous service to the public: Provided, That as a condition of its approval of any such application under this subparagraph, the Commission shall require a fair and equitable arrangement to protect the interests of the railroad employees affected. The Commission may, in its discretion, attach to any order granting such temporary approval such terms and conditions as in its judgment the circumstances surrounding such temporary approval shall warrant, including but not limited to terms and conditions providing for modification or revocation of such order. The Commission may extent such temporary authority beyond 180 days upon written request by any interested party, or upon its own initiative. Every 60 days, the Commission shall report to the Congress upon the effect of all such orders issued under this subparagraph in effect during such 60-day period on competition between carriers by railroad subject to this part: Provided, That such a report shall not be required for any such period during which no such orders are in effect."

SEC. 3. (a) Section 1(16) (b) (A) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(16) (b) (A)) is amended to read as follows:

"(A) Such direction:

"(A) Such direction shall be effective for no longer than 60 days unless extended or renewed by the Commission for cause shown for an additional designated period or periods. Such additional period or periods shall not exceed in the aggregate 180 days. At the time of any such extension or renewal, the Commission may alter or amend its direction with respect to such carrier by substituting another carrier or carriers for a directed carrier, or otherwise."

(b) Section 1(16)(b)(E) of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1(16)(b)(E)) is amended by striking "90 days after expiration of such order" and inserting in lieu thereof "30 days after the last day of each calendar month during which such costs

are incurred".

ORDER FOR RECESS UNTIL 11 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today it stand in recess until the hour of 11 a.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, the Senate will meet tomorrow at 11 a.m., following a recess. After the two leaders or their designees have been recognized under the standing order, Mr. Taft will be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes. Mr. Javits will then be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes, after which there will be a period for the transaction of routine morning business of not to exceed 30 minutes, with Senators permitted to speak not in excess of 5 minutes each during that period.

At the conclusion of routine morning business, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of Senate Concurrent

Resolution 31, relating to a determination of the congressional budget of the U.S. Government.

RECESS

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in recess until the hour of 11 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 2:53 p.m. the Senate recessed until Tuesday, April 29, 1975, at 11 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 28, 1975:

LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

The following-named persons to be members of the Board of Directors of the Legal Services Corporation for the terms indicated (new positions).

For a term of 2 years commencing upon the date of the first meeting of the Board:

Marshall Jordan Breger, of Texas.
William J. Janklow, of South Dakota.
William L. Knecht, of California.
Rodolfo Montejano, of California.
Samuel D. Thurman, of Utah.

For a term of 3 years commencing upon the date of the first meeting of the Board:

Roger C. Cramton, of New York. Edith Green, of Oregon. Robert J. Kutak, of Nebraska. Revius O. Ortique, Jr., of Louisiana. Glee S. Smith, Jr., of Kansas. Glenn C. Stophel, of Tennessee.

NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD

Isabel A. Burgess, of Arizona, to be a member of the National Transportation Safety Board for the term expiring December 31, 1979 (reappointment).

IN THE NAVY

The following-named officers of the Navy for permanent promotion to the grade of lieutenant commander.

LINE

Lieutenant commander

Abbey, Donald Lewis Abbey, James Robert Abel, Warren Robert Abrams, Steven Selby Adair, Roy Ernest, Jr. Adams, Charles Edward Adams, Chester Anthony Adams James Winston Adams, John Robert Adams, William Victor, Jr. Addicott, Raymond Walter Afdahl, Darwin Frank Agnew, Alfred Howard Agnew, James Robert Ahern, David Gaynor Ahlborn, Edward Richard, Jr. Albaugh, Cleve Willis Albright, Richard Charles Albright Robert Ernest Alcorn, Wendell Reed Allen, Henry Carter Allen, John E Allin, John Wilfrid Allison, William Stuart, III Allwine Robert Anderson Althouse Thomas Stephenson Amundsen, Richard Oliver, Jr. Anawalt Richard Arthur Andersen, Franklin Dayle Andersen Oliver Lorrain Anderson, Gerald Lee Anderson, Raymond Charles Anderson, Richard Arnold Anderson, Richard Glenn Anderssen, Arthur Harald

Andrews, James Randolph Andrews, Larry Joe Andrews, Michael Keeney Andridge, Phillip Carl Anselmo, Philip Shepard Anson, Robert, Jr.
Antrim, Benjamin Franklin, III
Arnest, Charles Sherman
Arnold, David Phillips
Arnold, William Knowles, Jr.
Arnold, William Tamm Arthur, John Robert, Jr. Astor, Lawrence Ira Aubuchon, Robert George Aucella, John Paul Auer, James Edward Austin, Donald Gene Austin, Leon Austin, Michael Gaylord Avery, Donald William, Jr. Avery, Robert Young Babb, Dewey Eugene Baffer, Roger Alexander Bagby, James Lovelace, Jr. Bailey, Howard Lindy Bailey, James Lindsey Bailey, Larry Wayne Bailey, Larry Weldon Baird, Don Wilson Baker, Brent Baker, David James Baker, John Lee Baker, John Sherman Baker, Milton Sumner, Jr. Baker, Willard David Baldwin, John Milton, III Baldwin, Richard Charles Balian, Alexander George Ball, Harry Francis, Jr. Ballard, Don Eugene Baltutis, John Stanley Balut, Stephen John Barbour, Richard Elwood Bard, Albert Eugene Barker, Ross Daniel Barnes, Harlan Leslie Barnes, James Clayton, Jr. Barnett, William Richard Barney, William Clifford Barnicle, Paul Edward Baron, Michael Barrow, Edward M., Jr. Barrows, Blair Barthold, Todd Alan Bartlett, Robert Charles Bartol, John Hone, Jr. Bartolomei, Marino James Barton, William Robert Bassett, Larry Allen Bates, Allen Webster, Jr. Bates, Robert Carroll Batie, Howard Franklin Batti, Donald Edward Batzel, Thomas Joseph Bauer, Wayne Edmund Baumhofer, William James Beal, Richard Frank Beall, David Albert Bealle, William Edgar Bean, Charles Dunbar Beasley, Fenn Coffin Beaton, John Hudson Becker, Dennis Edward Beckham, Robert Frederick Beedle, Ralph Eugene Begley, Jerry Noonan Behrend, Robert Michael Beland, Conrad Lucien Belanger, Raymond Louis Bell, Corwin Allan Bell, Denis Joseph William Bell, Merlin Gene Bellingham, Herbert John Bellis, James Richard Belmore, Richard Kenneth Belton, David Calvin Benepe, John Wesley Bennett, Paul Lawrence Bennett, Richard Allan Bennitt, Brent Martin Berg, John Stoddard

Berigan, Francis Michael Berkey, Thomas Joe Berry, Billy W. Berry, John David Berry, Russell Elliott, Jr. Betzner, Hugh William, Jr. Beumer, Theodore Herman Beyer, Dean Harder Beyman, David Earl Bezrutch, Rudolph Art Bierig, Frederick Arthur Bilbrey, Harlan Kenneth Billingsley, Christopher Bisbing, Raymond Harvey Bishop, Joseph Brooke Bissonnette, Laurence Arthur Bivins, Howard Vernon Bjorkner, Arthur Charles Blakeley, William Robert Bledsoe, John Francis Blesch, Jerry Morgan Blevins, Ladelle F. Blumberg, Lawrence Bertram Blunden, Alec Reginald Bogard, Thomas Hugh Boggess, Randolph Cowan Bohley, Carl Martin Bohn, Charles Joseph, Jr. Bole, Robert Fulton, Jr. Bolka, David Frank Bonds, John Bledsoe Boone, George Junior Borghoff, Francis A. Boss, Ronald Arthur Boston, Michael Rhodes Boswell, Dale Eugene Boughton, Louis Charles Bowers, Fred Forest Bowes, William Charles Bowman, Terry L. Boyce, Robert William Boyd, John Theodore Boydston, James Laymance Boyer, Philip Albert, III Bradberry, Brent Alan Bradshaw, Wilton Drexel Braham, Donald Francis Branch, Allen Drue Brauer, Gordon Richard Brayton, Gerald Ray Brennan, Michael John Brennan, William John Brickett, John Francis Bright, Calvin Fred Brink, James Andrew Brittingham, Edward Michael Brodehl, Richard Brian Brokaw, Charles Roger Bronson, Marshall Wilkes Brough, Robert Franklyn Brown, Carroll Dean Brown, Charles Franklin Brown, David Charles Brown, Donald Hugh Brown, Emory Worth, Jr. Brown, George Elliott, Jr. Brown, Hal Gibbs Brown, Joseph Richard Brown, Joseph Zachariah Brown, Noel Warren Brown, Ronald Lee Brown, William Bruce Browne, Joseph Majette Browning, Robert Eugene Brucato, Philip Edward Brun, Charles Robert Brunelle, William Thomas Brunhaver, Richard Marvin Brunner, Maurice Thomas Bryant, Herbert Victor Bryant, James Culver Bryant, William Harry **Buchans**, James Curtis Buck, Arthur Edwin, Jr. Buckley, Peter Patrick Buckley, Thomas Daniel Buckley, William Clayton Buell, Kenneth Richard Buescher, Stephen Meredith Bugg, William Edmunds Bunn, Ronald Roy

Burch, Othney Phelps Burcham, Devirda Houston, II Burges, Rufus Thurman, Jr. Burgess, Andrew Lynn, Jr. Burgett, Bernard Edward Burke, Gary Leigh Burke, Kevin James Burke, Michael Edward Burns, Robert Louis Burrell, Donald Overt, III Burritt, James Graham Burrows, John Shober, III Burt, John Alan Burtram, Roderick Bussey, Laurence Throckmort Bustamante, Charles Joseph Butler, Francis Wayne Butler, John Harrison Byers, John Arthur Byrnes, David Thomas Byrnes, Henry Francis, Jr. Cablk, Steven Richard Cacchione, David Americo Cahill, Allen Lewis Calande, John Joseph, Jr. Calhoun, Ronald Joel Callahan, Paul Lawrence Calvano, Charles Natale Camp, Norman Thomas Campbell, Guy Reeder, III Canaday, Carlton Weaver Canady, Paul Allen Canepa, Louis Robert Capewell, John, Jr. Capie, Donald James Carder, William Hunter Carl, Lester William Carlmark, Jon William Carlson, John Algot Carman, Jesse Logan Carney, James Allen Carpenter, Allan Russell Carroll, Hugh Edward, II Carson, Joe Warren Carswell, Herschell Ronald Carter, Clyde Louis Carter, James O'Neill Cash, Roy, Jr. Cashin, Joseph William, Jr. Cassidy, Tom Kenneth Cassiman, Paul Arthur Cerstvik, John Theodore Chadwick, Stephen Kent Chafin, Thomas Lee Challender, Jack Lee Chapman, Austin Eugene Chappell, Stephen Francis Charette, Alfred Arthur, Jr. Charles, David Montgomery Chasteen, Robert Wayne Chauncey, Gregory Arthur Chesbrough, Geoffrey Lynn Chesser, Marvin Brooks, Jr. Chester, James B. Christensen, Clyde Vernon Christensen, Edward Louis Christensen, George Ainswor Churbuck, James Forrest Cima, Frank John Ciszewsyi, Robert Allen Clair, Robert Arthur Clarey, Stephen Scott Clark, Arthur Clark, Arthur Doron Clark, David George Clark, Hiram Ward, Jr. Clark, Howard Bowman Clark, Vady Robert Clark, Walter Thomas Clark, William Thorkel Clarke, Edward Joseph Clason, Aryl Benton Cleary, Francis Paul Clemenger, John William Cline, Robert Neil Clow, Wallace Gilbert, Jr. Coates, Thomas Ashley Cochran, Frederick Franklin Cockrell, Milford Norman, Jr. Coffey, John Andrew Cohen, Steven Robert

Edmonston, Lee K.

Colavito, Thomas Joseph Cole, Legrande Ogden, Jr. Coleman, Jon Suber Coleman, Thomas Milton Collins, Richard Xavier Collins, William Gerard, Jr. Collman, Charles Bonham Colthurst, Wallace R. Coltnurst, Wallace R.
Colucci, Anthony Robert
Comfort, Anthony Jerome
Compton, Andrew Jerome
Comstock, George Alfred
Conley, Dennis Ronald
Connolly, Michael Brian
Conrey, Thomas Rolland
Conway, Frank Mark III
Cook Brige Courad Cook, Bruce Conrad Cook, Douglas Watkins Cook, John Francis, Jr. Cook, Raymond Lee Cooke, Oren Boyd Cooper, George Thomas Copeland, Aaron Clifford Corcoran, Joseph Francis Corgan, Michael Thomas Corn, Robert Holt Cornia, Howard Coshow, George Horace II Costelli, John Patrick II Coulter, William Laurence Coupe, Jay, Jr. Cousins, Belmont William Covey, Robert Wesley Covington, William Ellerbe Coward, Asbury IV Cowart, John Michael Cox, John Hannan Cox, Landon Greaud, Jr. Cox, Virgil Glenn Craddock, John Raymond Craft, James Harris Craig, Philip Charles Crane, Mark Francis Crawford, Leslie Paul Creighton, Charles Benson Creps, Stephen George Cressy, Peter Hollon Croix, Larry Edmond
Croil, Larry Richard
Cronin, Michael Paul
Crooks, Richard Alan
Crooks, Stephen Chapman Cross, Stanley Owen Crossman, Walter Augustine Crow, Robert Lee Crowe, Lucious Brannon Crowley, Edward Joseph
Crowley, Edward Joseph
Crumly, Jerry MacLean
Cullipher, John Oscar
Culver, John Bergen III
Cummings, Vincent Paul, Jr.
Cunha, George Daniel Martin
Curran, Lawrence E. Currey, John Michael Currie, Daniel Lee, Jr. Curtin, Andrew James Curtin, Peter Maxime Curtis, Richard Bradford Curtis, Robert Edwin Cybul, Harvey John Dadant, Dennis John Dade, Thomas Brodrick Dahl, Dennis Kay Daigle, Glenn Henri Dalberg, Richard Leo, Jr. Dalton, Clem Edward Daley, Michael James Dairymple, Edward Kent Dairymple, Edward Kent Daiton, Gerard Holbrook Daiton, Henry Frederick Daly, Edward Lawrence Daniels, James Edward Dannheim, William Taylor Daramus, Nicholas Thomas, Jr. Dau, Frederick W., III Daugherty, Shaun Michael Daughters, Milo Philip, II Davidson, Alan Norton Davidson, Dan Lee Davis, Edward Anthony Davis, Eugene Berkeley

Davis, Gerald, Jr. Davis, Henry Hooper, Jr. Davis, John C. Davis, John Paul, Jr. Davis, Martin Dorner Davis, Milton Edwin, Jr. Davis, Richard Clinton Davis, Robert Lee Davis, Thomas Cahill, Jr. Day, Patrick Arthur Decarli, Wiley Paul Decker, Wilbur Leon Declercq, Keith Laverne Decrona, Donald Allen Deevy, Thomas Joseph Defloria, Joseph George, Jr. Defries, Melton Ellis, Sr. Dehnert, Charles Eugene Dekker, Jon Karel Deklever, Vaughn Gerard Dekshenieks, Vidvuds Delgaizo, Theodore John Demark, Ramon Samuel Demech, Fred Ralph, Jr. Denault, Donald Raymond Denning, William James, III Dennis, James Augustin, Jr. Denson, James Kitchel Denton, William Howard Derf, Tad Arlen Dersham, Dayton Leisle Desrosiers, Richard Albert Deutermann, Peter Thomas Dewey, John Robert Dias, Gerald Freitas Dick, Allen Howard Diehl, Robert Walter Johns Dietz, Gary Conrad Dill, Donald Lloyd Diselrod, John Edwin Ditchey, Robert Louis Ditmore, George Walter, II Dix, Paul Grover Dixon, Douglas Mack Dobberteen, James David Dodd, James Lloyd Dollard, John Anthony Domaloan, Paul Donaldson, William Jay Donahue, Drake Allen Donegan, John Joseph, Jr. Doney, John Harvey, III Donn, Alan Henry Donnelly, John Joseph Donofrio, Anthony Louis Dorman, Craig Emery Dorman, Merrill Herrick Dorsey, Medford Don Doswell, Eugene Varnon Doty, Wells Blakeslee Dougherty, Robert Joseph Downs, Charles Patrick Doyle, Thomas Francis, Jr. Drake, Albert Wayne Drew, James Joseph Driscoll, Kurt Allen Droste, James Bentley Dryden, Victor Duane Dryden, William Thomas Duchock, Charles Jack, Jr. Duda, Daniel Martin Duffield, Carper Paul, Jr. Dufresne, Michael Paul, Jr. Dukat, Frank Duncan, Duane Stewart, Jr. Dunlap, Calvin Ray, III Dunlap, Howard Dewitt Dunn, Anthony Thomas Dunne, Gerald William Dunstan, Richard Alan Dunton, Lewis Warren, III Durham, Dan Wilson Durham, Jere Carlton Durkee, Albert White Earner, William Anthony, Jr. Earnhardt, John Baughn Easley, George Alfred Eckstein, Eric Rockhill Edgar, Peter David Edge, Jacob, II Edleson, Stuart Kaufmann, Jr.

Edwards, Joseph William Edwards, L. Vernon, Jr. Efird, William Alexander Ehret, Howard Charles. Eischen, Gerald Nicholas Eissing, Frank Eugene III Elberfeld, Lawrence George Eldred, William Alexander Elkins, Frank Callihan Eller, John Christian Ellis, George Jeremiah Ellis, John Richard Ellis, Richard Hoff Ellis, William Christopher Ellis, Winford Gerald Ellison, William Theodore Ellsworth, Thomas Burpee, Jr. Elmore, Lawrence L. Elrod, Stephen Anthony Emarine, Larry Lee Emerson, Norman Perry Emery, George Williams Endrizzi, Raymond Louis Engman, Lee Mathew Engwell, Darrel Wayne Ennis, Michael Kirby Enriquez, Jose Erlandson, John Lyle, Sr. Esbeck, Leonard John Estell, William Andrew, Jr. Estes, Donald Harold Eubanks, Glen Earl Evans, Irvin Christopher, Jr. Evans, Jimmie Wayne Ewert, Lawrence Edward Falcon, Michael Francis Fant, Robert St. Clair, Jr. Fantin, Jonnie Ronald Farber, Donald Joseph Farley, Robert Theodore Farmer, Michael Arthur Faticoni, John Anthony Feist, Eugene Paul Felps, Lowell Douglas Ferguson, Jerry Edward Ferguson, Thomas Edward Ferranti, Nicholas Anthony Ferrell, John Lester Ferriter, Nicholas Mark Fertig, Lanny Leo Fiedeldey, Joseph Wilfred J. Field, John Burke Fields, James Richard Finch, Parker Thomas, Jr. Finley, John Cain Finn, Edward Stephen Fiori, Mario Peter Firestone, Philip Giles Firnbach, James Donald Fischer, Ernest Collis Fishburn, Charles George Fisher, Gordon Everet, III Fister, George Rodwell Fitrell, Stuart James Fitzgerald, James Richard Fitzgerald, John Allen Fitzgerald, John Edward Flaningam, James Douglas Fleitz, William Vincent, Jr. Fleming, Richard Thomas Fliegel, Robert Aalbu Flint, Lewis Ware Flower, Roger Paul Folsom, John Harold Fontana, James David Ford, Henry, IV Ford, Jack Charles Forster, Robert Douglas Fortney, Doyle Wright Foster, Brent Dean Foust, James Eldridge, III Foy, Basil W., Jr. Francis, William Charles Franz, David Franson, Alvin Laverne Franz, David Franz, Rodney Crane Frazer, Paul David Fredericks, Roy Charles

Fredette, Roger Aime Freeman, Ernest Raymond Freibert, Ralph William French, John C., Jr. French, Thomas Penn, Jr. Frick, Dean Earl Frick, Frederick Mark Friedman, Marcus Velvil Friedrichsen, Lewis Johnson Fritz, Thomas Clifford Fritz, Thomas Wayne Froehlich, Edward William J. Froehlich, Jacob Clare Frost, David Eugene Frost, John Allen Fugard, William Harvey Fulbright, Terrell Woodrow Fuller, John Paul Fuller, Robert Davis Fulton, Stephen Howard Fulton, William James Fulton, William Lawrence, II Furr, Jack Carlton Furry, Richard Paul Futch, George Wiley Gabriel, Thomas Oscar Gabryelski, Richard Marion Gaines, George L. Gaines, William Andrew Gainor, John Wesley, III Galanti, Paul Edward Gallagher, Lawrence Ambrose Gallegos, Joe Rodriquez Gallegos, Joe Rodriquez Gapp, Donald Robert Garmon, Gerald Sutherland Gaston, Mack Charles Gates, Jonathan Hubert Gaudiano, Antonio William Gaul, James Howard Gautier, James Berry Gaylord, Reginald F., Jr. Gee, George Nicholas Geissler, Richard Frank Genung, Edward Noland, Jr. Genung, Edward Noland, Jr.
George, Harold Wayne
Georgius, David Russell
Gerwe, Franklin Henry, Jr.
Ghrer, Grady Francis
Giannotti, Sterling Maurice
Gilchrist, Orville Lee
Gill, Gary Edward
Gill, James Edward
Gill, James Edward
Gill, Garter Gill, Russell Carter Gilleece, Peter Gerard Gilroy, Vincent J., Jr. Gilson, James Donald Gingras, Peter Southworth Giorgio, Frank Arthur, Jr. Gladwin, Harold Russell Glaes, Roger Burton Glasier, Peter Keith Glass, Arnold Lee Glenn, Danny Elloy Glenn, Walter Lewis, Jr. Glover, Jimmy Neal Glover, William Ferguson H. Gluck, John Milton Gobbel, James Thomas, Jr. Godek, Leonard S. Goebel, David Maxwell Gold, Bennett Alan Goldman, Dan Edgar, Jr. Goldman, Robert Barry Gomez, Luis Vilas Gomez, Luis Vilas Gompper, James Harold Goodgame, Billy Donald Goodloe, Robert Vannerson, Jr. Goodwin, James Harvey Googins, Bruce Russell Gordon, Hayes Ingersoll Gordon, Richard Scott Gormly, Robert Anthony Goss, Robert Wayne Gottschalk, Gary Ward Gower, Leon Haskell Grabowsky, Theodore Eron Grace, Robert Francis Graf, Karl Rockwell Graff, Russell John Graham, Clark Graham, Edward Mary

Graham, Ian Keith Graham, Walter Harry Grantham, Wiley George Granuzzo, Andrew Aloysius Graves, Bibb Logan Graves, George William, Jr. Graves, William Thomas Gray, Brian Elliott Gray, Francis David Gray, Wyron Paul Green, Norman Richard, Jr. Green, Robert Leonard Green, Thomas Ray Green, William Jennings, Jr. Greene, David Lockwood Greene, James Bernard, Jr. Greenman, Robert Pruyn Greeson, Tommy Darell Gregory, Francis Carl Griffin, Charles Donald, Jr. Griffin, Clyde William Griffin, Harold Craven, Jr. Griffith, Douglas Kent Griffiths, David John Groff, Jon Philip Groman, Alphonse Winslow, Jr. Gross, Charles Nicholas Grove, Frank Henry Grubb, Robert George Grunwald, Gerald Max Grzymala, Thomas Chester Gubbins, Philip Stanley Gubbins, Philip Stanley
Guest, George Robert
Gullett, Fred Wayne
Gushaw, Gregory Vance
Gyle, Robert Bentley, III
Haan, Dale Everett
Hadley, Allan William
Hagy, James Henry Dixon, Jr.
Hahn, William Dillon
Halenza, Hal Rodger Halenza, Hal Rodger Hall, James Benjamin Hall, Thomas Forrest Hall, William Ervin Halperin, Mark Israel Hames, William Jewell Hamilton, Jack Edward Hammer, George Charles Hammer, John Levering, III Hancock, William John Hanks, William Lloyd Hanley, James Joseph Hansen, Laurence Russell Hanson, Claude Lee Hanzel, Joseph A., Jr. Hardman, Herbert Franklin Hargrove, James Carroll Harken, Jerry Lynn Harker, Donald Alfred Harley, James Harold Harmon, Edward Keith Harms, John Henry Harper, John Norman, Jr. Harris, James Partsch Harris, Robert Harlan Harrison, Edward James, Jr. Hart, Harvey Hicks, Jr. Hart, Ronald John Hartman, Charles Willia, III Hartman, Richard Henry Haskins, John Bryant Haskins, Toner Charles, Jr. Hassell, Benny Kyle Hasty, Richard Leon Hatfield, Philip Neal Hauck, Frederick Hamilton Hauert, Patrick Charles Haugen, Ronald Gilbert Hauhart, James Norval Havey, Brian Joseph Hawley, John Garland Hayes, Cornelius Charles, Jr. Hayes, Richard James Hays, George Elden, Jr. Hays, James Malcolm Heare, Charles Ivan, Jr. Heath, William John Heilig, John Heins, Raymond Rice Heins, Roger John Heintzelman, Thomas Gary Heinz, Michael Kasper

Helbig, Raymond Allan Helle, Frederick Allan Helsper, Charles Frederick Hendon, Jerry Edwin Hendrick, William Smith Hennessey, Raymond Wilson Hennessy, William Joseph, Jr. Henry, Russell Jones Hering, Frederic Shriver Hermann, Kermyn Jerome Herring, Arthur Eugene, Jr. Herron, Francis Joseph Hess, Donald Robert Hewitt, John Francis Hewlett, Harold Eugene Hickox, Oscar Jonathan, Jr. Hicks, Robert Louis Hicks, William Lloyd Higginbotham, Harry E. Hightower, Roger Wayne Hillis, Robert J. Hilton, Francis Warren, Jr. Himchak, William Alexander Hines, David Spencer Hines, Henry Lee, Jr. Hingsberger, Andrew John, Jr. Hinkle, John Calvin Hinkley, William Leslie Hitch, James Harvey Hitchborn, James Brian Hite, Thomas Howard Hoag, David Wesley, Jr. Hobbs, Marvin Edward Hockman, Robert Edward Hodell, John Charles Hoff, Robert Glenn Hoffman, Carl Walter Hoffman, David Wesley Hoffman, William St. Clair Hogan, James Joseph, III Hohlstein, Julian Geoffrey Hoivik, Thomas Harry Hokanson, Anders, Jr Hollingsworth, William Louis Holme, Thomas Timings, Jr. Holmes, Frank Clayton Holt, Philip Nelson Holt, Richard Watkins, Jr. Holton, Wilbur Earl Homer, James Joseph Honhart, David Crosby Hood, John McCoy, Jr. Hooper, Harold Danny Howard, James Willoughby Howell, James Dorn Howell, Robert Lawrence Howie, Robert John Howson, Richard John Hubbard, George Dallas, Jr. Huchko, William Anthony Huchthausen, Peter Anthony Huchting, George Arthur Hucks, Jerry Pierson Hughes, Frank Weber Hughes, Michael Bryant Hughes, William Allen Hughes, William Charles, Jr. Huling, John McKee, Jr. Hull, Kent Sherwood Humphrey, David Deane Hunsucker, Royce Hulton, Jr. Hunt, Donald Bayard Hunt, Paul Dean Hunt, Paul Delton, Jr. Hunter, Richard Joseph Hupp, Arnold Jay Hurd, Michael Fuller Hurley, Robert Francis, Jr. Hurst, Cecil Roy, Jr. Hurst, Paul Drake Huss, Jerry Francis Hutcheson, James Edward, Jr. Hutter, George Richard Hutton, Joseph John Jr. Hutton, Kenneth Laverne Hyde, Walter John Hyland, John Joseph, III Hynes, William Richard Iber, William Randolph Idleberg, Norman Ingram, Isom Irvin Ireland, Delbert Howard

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Dominy, Wilbur Dupre
Driskell, James David III
Dunn, Robert George Duryea, Robert James Eadie, Paul Warren Earhart, Terry Lee Earle, Samuel Broadus, III Evans, George Albert Fellows, Fred Yates, III Fields, Billy Joe Fincke, Edwin August Fisher, Gary Clay Fisher, Orville Leroy, Jr. Fitzgerald, Thomas Patrick Fleming, James Alexander, Jr. Flowers, John Holder Foley, Richard Lynde Franklin, Norman Gale Frantz, Harold Wayne Frassato, Robert Charles Fuller, Franklin Barry Gainey, John Michael, III Galligan, David Richard Gallion, Robert Zurill Garmus, David Paul Geary, John Paul Gee, Charles Daniel Glisson, Donald Jerry Grant, Robert David Green, William Thomas Grichel, Dietmar Fritz Griffin, Jon Edward Grim, James Woodrow Groves, William Dennis Habermann, William Frank Hagerty, William Orme Hale, Ronald Arthur Hanson, Harold Charles Harrington, Phillip Henry Harshbarger, Eugene Burks Hart, Charles Ashley Hawthorne, Richard Lee Haynes, William Mitchell, Jr. Heider, James Martin, Jr. Hekman, John Gilbert Helmuth, Robert Allen Henderson, Andy Leroy Henson, Verlin Charter Hering, Joseph Florian Hernandez, Edward Simon, Jr. Hickman, Donald Eugene Hildebrand, Jarold Ray Hislop, Charles Edward Hodapp, Charles Aloysius Hogan, Brian Thomas Holland, Donald Lee Holmes, Clifford Joseph Hooker, James Stewart Hopkins, William Leslie

Hundelt, George Robert Hunter, Curtis Stanley, Jr. Hutto, John Aaron Hyman, William M. James, William Don Janse, Anthony Ludwig Jenson, Ronald Lee Johnson, Thomas Lawrence Jones, Eric Bywater Jones, Richard Walter Jones, William Marcus Karosich, James Charles Kaufman, James David Kavanaugh, John Thomas Kerr, Harold Lewis, Jr. King, David O. King, William Delano Kizer, John L. Koselka, James Anthony Kosch, Charles Arthur Krehely, Donald Edward Kuster, Ulrich Emil Laflanza, Bernard John Lafnitzegger, Frederick A. Lambright, John James Landon, Stewart Noel Laurent, Daniel Henri Lebel, Robert Francis, Jr. Leeper, James Edward, Jr. Lenga, James R. Leon, Albert Lewis, James Joseph Lines, Donald Paul Logan, Don Edward Lovstedt, Joel Mathies Lutz, Gerald Gilbert Lynch, Michael Gerald Macaulay, Charles Patrick MacMurray, Michael McRobert Maley, Michael Denton Mandel, Allan Lee Manning, Gary Clifford Marohn, Louis Norman Marshall, William Baker III Mastrandrea, Gary Allen McClure, John Marvin McDermott, John Edward McDonald, John Francis McGraa, John Robinson III McNutt, Beverly Daniel Meneely, Frank Thomas Merritt, Frank Wilbur, Jr. Meys, Charles Pawling
Miller, James Rush
Mitchell, John Wayne
Monroe, James Leslie Dukes Monson, Jon Philip Moore, Thomas John Moreland, Richard Dean Morgan, George Parker, Jr. Morgan, Ronald Dean Morris, John David III Morris, John Glenn Mortensen, John James Moum, Jerry Davis Mueller, John Joseph Musgrave, Alvin William, Jr. Nair, Sterling Edward, Jr. Natole, Robert Lester Nichols, Clifford John Nichols, Edward Hamilton Norris, David Carter Oberle, Michael Joseph O'Connor, Joseph Andrew Oehrlein, William Philip O'Hara, Patrick Joseph Olio, John Francis Orahood, Douglas William Overhalser, Dennis Dee Owens, Joseph Frederick Owens, Robert K. Packard, Charles Alden Paine, John Spaulding Palazzolo, Gregory S. Parks, Leonard Cranford Parrott, Ralph Condron Parsons, Donald Sargent, Jr. Pearson, David Edward Pedersen, Carl Jens Peiffer, Robert Hurst Perrill, Fredrick Eugene

Perry, James Hilliard, Jr. Peterson, Roland Hokan Phillips, James Donald Pinskey, Carl Walter Pinskey, Carl Walter Pittman, Harold Sherrod Ponder, Joseph Edward Porter, Robert Cleve Price, Clifford Ronald Price, Robert Francis Quigley, Patrick Joseph Quinn, John Thomas Quinn, Kenneth James Rasmussen Kenneth Her Rasmussen, Kenneth Herman Rasmussen, Paul Duane Redman, William Ernest, Jr. Reynolds, Kevin Thomas Rice, Richard Ray Ringberg, David Allen Rittenhouse, Ferness Levere Rodgers, Gary Lee Rosson, Bobby Joe Rueckert, Jon Rumsey, Charles Gary Ryland, Charles Wayne Sadler, David Henry Sandeen, John King Sapera, Leonard Joseph Sareeram, Ray Rupchand Sattler, Roger Charles Savola, Vernon Victor, Jr. Scharff, Richard Darrell Schiel, William Arron, Jr. Schultz, Robert Arthur Seddon, Thomas Albert Sewell, John Burdon Shannon, William Northrop Sherman, Bruce Leslie Shields, Edward Joseph Siburt, Forrest Nile, Jr. Sikes, James Eugene Simeon, Harlan Lee Smith, Charles Edward Smith, Olen Brown, Jr. Smith, Richard Michael Smith, William James Sneiderman, Marshall Lewis Stafford, Joe Roberson Standish, John Alden Starnes, Bobby Franklin Stebbins, Lynten Harvey Steen, George Samuel, Jr. Stocker, Vernon Dean Stone, Charles Welborn, Jr. Sulek, Kenneth James Summers, John Howard Suter, David Floyd Swan, Aubrey Earl Szalapski, Jeffrey Paul Tarr, Nicholas William Taube, Arden Raymond Terwilliger, Bruce Kidd, Jr. Thomas, Dudley Jerome Thomas, Gary Lee Thomas, Robert Louis Thompson, Robert Howard Tomcheck, John Kenneth Torrey, Tracy Everett Trbovich, George Melvin Treanor, Richard Craig Trotter, Edgar Stoker, Jr. Tully, Albert Paul, Jr. Ullman, Robert Chester Unsicker, David Wayne Vanness, Robert Louis Vaughan, Woodrow Wilson, Jr. Verhage, Ronald Glenn Wachutka, James Richard Wagner, Gregory Leonard Waldron, Andrew John, Jr. Walker, Charles Kerwin Walker, Charles Kerwin Wallace, James Joseph Wallace, William Warren Walton, Joseph Leo Watrach, Dennis Kenneth Weaver, Edwin Richard, Jr. Webster, Bert Reed Wells, Michael Vance Wells, Paul Denzil Wellumson, Douglas Raymond West, Karl Peterson Williams, Richard Hardy

Williams, Robert Joseph Wilson, Michael George Windbigler, John J. Woodward, Joseph Albert Wootten, John Francis Worsena, Richard Francis Yaney, Donald L. Young, Robert Reese Zeppieri, Ronald James Zumbro, Sherrod Branson

CHAPLAIN CORPS Bartholomew, Carroll Eugene Bruggeman, John Anthony Coughlin, Conall R.
Curran, Wade Hampton, Jr.
Dennis, Billy Vernon
Depascale, Daniel Francis Dorr, Charles Edward Eckles, James Warren Erick, Robert James Fiorino, Alfred Lewis Flick, Carl William Force, Daniel Lawrence Fullilove, Ray Weldon Gibney, Robert George Gill, Francis Kerner, William Byron Kuhn, Thomas Walter Luebke, Robert Bingham, Jr. Matthias, Robert William McCoy, Charles Joseph Meehan, Conon Joseph Moffitt, Robert George Murray, Edward Kevin O'Donnell, Joseph Francis Olander, Edward Alfred Read, Gordon Amos Richards, Gerald Thomas Riley, Robert Joseph Rowland, William Alfred, Jr.

Roy, Raymond Armand

Taylor, Francis Stuart, III

Smith, Jerry Ronald Stewart, Lisle Edwin

Winnenberg, John Oscar CIVIL ENGINEER CORPS

Andrews, Richard Earl Bass, William Martin, Jr. Bergstrom, Robert Russell Beuby, Stephen Charles Black, Dorwin Clay Bookhardt, Edward Lee, Jr. Buckner, Ernest Wesley Buffington, Jack Eugene Camden, Edward Brydges Carnell, Donald Lee Chapla, Paul Anthony Crane, Thomas Clemson Day, Norman Walter Dillman, Robert Peter Drennon, Patrick William Eckert, James Watts Edmiston, Robert Clair Endebrock, Robert Neal Everett, Ernest James Finn, James Robert Fluharty, David Henning Fowler, George Edward, III Frauenfelder, Henry Roger Goin, Paul Thurman Greene, Carl Deforest Griffith, Harry Gates Hansen, Robert Edwin Harris, William Frank Hathaway, James Luther Heffernan, Thomas John Heine, Richard Frederick, Jr. Henley, Joseph Leo Hosey, Gary Ronald Hull, David Nelson Jackson, Bruce Lawellin Leap, Joseph Brian Martinelli, Salvatore Aldo McCahill, Dennis Francis McCullagh, Paul William Michna, Thomas Benjamin Morrison, Paul Albert Myers, Larry Daniel Oconnell, Brian John Olson, Harold Martin

Pearson, Rufus Judson, III Rabke, Walter Edward Renzetti, Joseph Leo Ringel, Duane Arthur Robertson, William Edmond J. Rohrbach, Richard Magee Ronrbach, Richard Magee Ross, Gerald Harry Rumbold, William Walter, Jr. Sahlman, Claire George Schneider, John David Scott, Gary Hugh Shalar, Alexander Shaw, Arthur Robinson Sheaffer, Donald Ralph Sherman, Myron Bernard Smith, Erik Theodore, Jr. Smith, Homer Francis, II Smith, Homer Francis, II Stevens, Joseph Michael, Jr. Stewart, Allen Jack Stewart, Stephen Edgar Stokes, Stephan Robert Vaudreuil, Wilfred Joseph, J. Wells, Donald Raymond Wheeler, David Earl Wilson, Ronald King Wood, James Albert Zimmermann, Gerard Alan

JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S CORPS Armstrong, Arthur John, Jr. Berkley, Robert C. Boasberg, Robert, Jr. Bohaboy, Howard Brown, Michael A. Brush, James Dillon, II Buchholz, Duane Carl Burke, Charles Russell Carroll, Paul F. Closser, Daniel Penn, Jr. Cohen, William David Cromwell, James H. Dalton, William Harvey Derocher, Frederic George Ellis, Donald Porter, Jr. Fridell, Lane C. Gall, William Dudley Gilliam, Thomas Alfred, Jr. Henkel, George Edward Horst, Carl Henry Hosken, Edward Watters, Jr. Huff, David A. Ise, William Henry Kauffman, Robert K. Kjos, Wendell Arthur Kuhner, Robert Legier Landen, Walter James Little, Harvey Edward Manning, Edward Francis Martens, John Jerry McCoy, Dennis Frederick McLeran, Robert Harold Michael, George Lewis, III Norgaard, Kenneth Ray Patterson, Donald Ross Pierce, Charles David Powell, George Butts, Jr. Rapp, Michael Duer Reuling, Todd Johnston Riddle, Ervin A. Rote, Edward A. Sanchez, Francis P. Sanftner, Thomas Richard Sinor, Morris L. Studer, John Armitage Turner, Patrick Charles Wigle, Gerald F. Woods, Terrence Joseph

MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS
Anderson, Francis Glen
Armstrong, Joseph Cunningham
Beckner, William McCarty
Bell, R. Thomas, III
Bond, James Calvin
Brown, Seth Edsel
Brown, Wayne Allen
Cannizzaro, John Silvio
Carnahan, Clarence Lee
Chatelier, Paul Richard
Coan, Richard Manning
Cowan, Morris Joseph, Jr.

Curran, Patrick Michael Cusick, Richard Allen Deeter, Victor Raymond Delaughter, John Douglas Ferguson, John Christian Funaro, Joseph Francis Gannon, John Harry Gay, Kenton William Gillespie, Franklin Delano Gooch, Roy Lee Green, Charles Madison Geogoire, Harvey Gilbert Hartman, Carl Herman Hatten, Arthur Dallas, Jr. Henderson, S. Douglas Hill, Thomas Alfred Johnson, Robert Alton Juda, Thaddeus, Albin Laughlin, Leo Lemuel, Jr. McAllister, Robert George McGuire, James Stuart Murrell, William Raymond Nathan, Howard Wayne Newell, Richard Lee Parrish, William Carroll Payton, Richard Alan Peterson, Warren Roger Rector, Douglas Eugene Rice, Richard Timothy Robinson, Patsy June Rosplock, Jerome Donald Santana, Frederick Joseph Saye, Clarence Boswell Schmutz, Clinton Elmer Self. William Lee Shaughnessy, Mary Kay Skelly, Robert Stanley, Jr. Smith, Lamar Richard Theisen, Charles Joseph, Jr. Tilton, Delmar Levoy Tomczyk, Frank Edward Toops, Paul Edwin Walker, Jerry M. Warren, Joseph Edmond Wesolowski, Carl Anthony

NURSE CORPS

Ancelard, Madeline Mary Armstrong, Susanne Russell Arnold, Mary Ann Benning, Luella May Boyce, Virginia Edna Campen, Kathryn Elizabeth Cohagan, Mary Kathryn Conway, Joan Cote, Clarence William Dexter, Marion Caroline Dillon, Dolores Jo Dunn, Glenda Gale Foreman, Evelyn N. Fox, Patricia Michele Geraghty, Rosemary B. Hausmann, Abigail Margaret Henninger, Judith Erma Hicks, Shirlee Christine Hubbard, Carol Ann Huskey, Bobby Gene Janik, Barbara Ann Kohn, Dorothy Ann Leadford, Bonnie Ann Lee, Elaine Elizabeth Loughney, Juel Ann Margaret Marks, Alita Claire McCaughey, Anne Marie McDonald, Patricia Kathalee McKown, Frances Carroll Medina, Elida Delosangeles Megonnell, Joann Helen Mudge, Blanche Schneider Newton, Katheryn Eleanor Oconnell, Anne Louise Odom, Helen A. Ormsby, Karen Arndt Pack, Valaine Peters, Shirley Ricardi, Jean Cecilia Riddell, June Elizabeth Sheehan, Lona Wallace Simer, Monica Simpson, Barbara Lou Skola, Nancy Ann

Smith, Joann Hennessy Speckmann, Elissa Mary Ann Staley, Patricia Louise Thompson, Marjorie Christine Tolar, Sara Campbell Triplett, Audrain Marie Wildeboer, Henrietta Mae Witherow, Mary Ann Word, Helena Mary Yucha, Shirley Ann

IN THE NAVY

The following-named officers of the Reserve of the U.S. Navy for temporary promotion to the grade of commander in the staff corps of the Reserve of the U.S. Navy, as indicated, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

MEDICAL CORPS

Branson, William B. Johnson, Roy M.

The following-named officers of the U.S. Navy for temporary promotion to the grade of lieutenant commander in the line and staff corps, of the U.S. Navy, as indicated, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Carlisle, James A. Curland, James W. Mills, Pelham E., III Moosally, Fred P., Jr. MEDICAL CORPS

R.

III

Lewis, William J.

McKinzie, Charles E. McLaughlin, Charles

Melaragno, Anthony T.

Millbern, Stephen M.

Miller, Samuel J., III

Nelson, Robert C., Jr.

Scanlon, Thomas S.,

Tarquinio, Thom A.

Mitas, John A., II

Bayne, Gary G. Carius, Michael L. Cohen, Richard Cummings, Nickie Fawcett, William A., IV

Fitzsimmons, Michael A. Freeland, George R. Goad, Robert F Govin, Gerald G. Hardy, William L.

Harman, Richard L. Heckel, Charles G. Hilton, Edwin B. Hunt, Clyde M., Jr. Judice, Donald T.

Taylor, John H. Ware, Lewis L., Jr. Wilcox, John R., Jr. Williams, David L. Withers, Benjamin F., Koett, John W. CHAPLAIN CORPS Grove, John W. McManus, William G., Jr.

DENTAL CORPS

Bartz, Raymond D. Carlson, Thomas D. Clark, Dennis P. Deluca, Alfonse T.

Peterson, Jay D.

Hewlett, Thomas M. Moore, Paul R. Myers, George R. Phillips, Charles C., III

NURSE CORPS

Ingram, Charles H.

The following-named officers of the U.S. Navy for temporary promotion to the grade of lieutenant in the line and staff corps, of the U.S. Navy, as indicated, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Bailey, James C., Jr. Baker, William S. Baxter, Michael J. Bishop, Richard W. Blaisdell, James H. Block, Terry J. Boyd, John T. Broadley, Timothy S. Casper, David C. Conroy, Thomas, Jr. Cranston, James S. Curry, Peter W. Davis, John R. Dean, Jeffrey S. Derego, Charles A. Dolle, James E. Dorsey, Danny E. Duignan, Michael J. Eldridge, Michael S. Etter, Stephen S. Foulk, Donald L., Jr. Fullbright, Robert W. Gardner, Brian M. Gardner, James A. Goar, Everett L., III Greene, Stephen D. Griffin, Joe E. Groux, Roger C. Grubaugh, Clarance E. Honig, Joseph F. Johnson, Gregory H. Johnston, Terry W. Kelly, Frank B. Kyzer, Braddock K., Jr. Lake, Gerald E. Lamb, Michael P. Link, Joseph W. Luhan, John B. Maniscalco, Ronald J. Mauro, Charles T. McBride, John G. McLean, Bruce D.

McNamara, Robert J. Milligan, William F.,

Jr. Mills, Nile D. Moore, William J. Morton, Thomas W. Nelson, James L. Noe, Thomas W. O'Connell, Patrick M. Pagnotta, Alan R. Pulsinelli, John A. Rathneal, Melvin D.

Rohlfs, H. Warren, Jr. Schneberger, Scott L. Sprinkle, Charles T. Staples, Ralph E., Jr. Talton, George M., III Taylor, Ronald D. Urban, Joseph Wakeman, Mark Watson, Frederick D. Xefteris, Constantine

SUPPLY CORPS

Carpenter, Levon H. Mitchell, Lonsdale C. Tabler, Alan T.

CHAPLAIN CORPS

Mennis, James F.

CIVIL ENGINEER CORPS

Foster, James F. Parisi, Anthony M.

MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS

Crabbe, Joel R. Dean, Larry M. Mahlin, Patrick L. Martin, Early M.

Mastervich, Mark M. Penkunas, John J. Pinkerton, Randy M.

NURSE CORPS

Benson, Donna J. Brown, David A. Gantz, Gary S. Henbest, David

Kozlowski, Janet G. Lea Rita M. Muller, Geraldine E. Neirynck, William E.

Com. Thomas V. McManamon for temporary promotion to the grade of captain in the Medical Corps of the Reserve of the U.S. Navy, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

The following-named officers of the U.S. Navy for transfer to and appointment in the Supply Corps in the permanent grade in lieutenant (junior grade).

Lyons, Daniel W. Soule, William E.

Ensign Wayne E. Anderson, of the U.S. Navy, for transfer to and appointment in the Supply Corps in the permanent grade of

Lt. (junior grade) Walter T. Sorrow, of the U.S. Navy for transfer to and appointment in the Supply Corps as permanent ensign

and temporary lieutenant (junior grade).

Lt. Com. Kent A. Willever, of the U.S. Navy
for transfer to and appointment in the
Judge Advocate General's Corps in the permanent grade of lieutenant and temporary grade of lieutenant commander.

Lt. (junior grade) Dan E. Babarik, of the U.S. Navy for transfer to and appointment in the Judge Advocate General's Corps in the permanent grade of lieutenant (junior grade)

Lt. James A. Carlisle for permanent appointment to the grade of lieutenant in the line of the U.S. Navy, subject to qualifica-tion therefor as provided by law.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following-named U.S. Naval Academy graduates for permanent appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Ahle, Dirk R. Allemand, Christopher D. Andriko, Stephen W. Arline, Johnny E., Jr. Bailey, Cozy E. Becker, Christopher L. Biggs, Timothy P. Brechtel, William J., Brewington, Emmitt D.

Bridgeman, Randolph R. Bronars, Bruce E. Brown, John D.

Carroll, Robert M. Chinn, Courtney D. Clark, Robert B. Connally, Patrick D. Cooper, Cleveland E. Cuff, James J., Jr. Curdy, Brian E. Dahlen, Robert F. N. Day, Jeremiah C. Dempsey, Thomas L. Dillon, Darrel W. Dixon, William H., Jr. Elwell, John P. Estilow, Rex A.

Born, Timothy B.

Buckiewicz, Bruce A.

Everett, Willie M.
Faigley, Phillip A.
Flynn, George J., Jr.
Forman, William M.
Gaffney, Steven J.
Garrett, Donald M.
Giuda, Robert J. W.
Gonda, Daniel B.
Gustin, Paul R., Jr.
Hammes, Thomas X.
Hampton, Myron L.
Harris, William M.
Hart, Kevin P.
Howey, William J.

Hummel, Bernard S.
Inghram, Jonathan D.
Jinnett, Michael J.
Johnson, Floyd J. III
Lawson, Henderson Jr.
Leahy, Thomas G.
Lee, Harry A.
Lindemann, Joel G.
Lindsey, Scott A.
Lundeen, Gary A.
Malone, William H.
Maximuck, Walter Jr.
McComb, Francis
M. M.

Meier, Michael D. Merrell, William Miller, Gary L. Montgomery,

William J.
Moore, Jacques J. Jr.
Moore, Roger K.
Muthler, Daniel J.
Neundorfer, David H.
Newcomer,

Lawrence A. Ortiz, Pierre J. Jr. Penman, David N. Phillips, James A. Plechash, Alexander Poulos, Dennis D. Richter, James S. Robinson,

James W. Jr.
Roepke, Daniel W.
Rybolt, Richard A.
Seibel, William E.
Seney, Scott G.
Sichko,
William J. Jr.

William J. Jr. Simon, David Simons, Jeffrey R. Stevens, Michael H. Stevens, Robert A. Stratmann,

George E. Jr. Wilcox, Rober Theeuwen, John D. Jr. Wolf, Larry J. Thumm, Michael W. Wood, David I Tryon, Richard T. Young, Rando Turner, Stephen A. Zakula, Rober

Warfie, Dayton F. Jr. Wehrle, Daniel A. Wilcox, Robert G. Wolf, Larry J. Wood, David B. Young, Randolph F. Zakula, Robert G.

The following-named (Navy enlisted scientific education program) graduate for permanent appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Hehl, Charles W.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES-Monday, April 28, 1975

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.
The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch,
D.D., offered the following prayer:

God is spirit and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.—John 4: 24.

O God and Father of us all, at the beginning of a new day we turn to Thee acknowledging our dependence upon Thee and praying for wisdom to walk in Thy ways and for faith that our steps may not falter in the fields of fruitful endeavors on behalf of our beloved country. Give us to see that our coming to Thee is in vain unless it brings us closer to one another and nearer to the members of our human family. With Thee and with one another we can face this hour and live through these days with honor bright, faith firm, and courage true.

Guide our Nation through this critical period to an era of enduring peace, lasting brotherhood, and abiding good will.

In the spirit of Christ we pray, Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Sparrow, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 4481. An act making emergency employment appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 4485. An act to provide for greater homeownership opportunities for middle-income families and to encourage more efficient use of land and energy resources.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 4481) entitled "An act making emergency employment appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. McClellan, Mr. Magnuson, Mr. Stennis, Mr.

PASTORE, Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD, Mr. PROX-MIRE, Mr. MONTOYA, Mr. BAYH, Mr. YOUNG, Mr. HRUSKA, Mr. CASE, Mr. BROOKE, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. MATHIAS, Mr. STEVENS, and Mr. BELLMON to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 4485) entitled "An act to provide for greater homeownership opportunities for middle-income families and to encourage more efficient use of land and energy resources," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. Proxmire, Mr. Sparkman, Mr. Williams, Mr. McIntyre, Mr. Cranston, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Packwood, and Mr. Garn to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to a bill of the Senate (S. 249) entitled "An act to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, and for other purposes," agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. TOWER, and Mr. BROOKE to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 6096) entitled "An act to authorize funds for humanitarian assistance and evacuation programs in Vietnam and to clarify restrictions on the availability of funds for the use of U.S. Armed Forces in Indochina, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill and resolutions of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 435, An act to amend section 301(b) (7) of the Agricultural Act of 1938, as amended, to change the marketing year for wheat from July 1-June 30, to June 1-May 21, and

S. Con. Res. 19. Concurrent resolution relating to the World Food Conference of 1976 in Ames, Iowa.

S. Res. 69. Resolution disapproving the proposed deferral of budget authority for Federal-Aid Highways, which deferral (D75-17) was set forth in a special message transmitted by the President to the Congress on September 20, 1974, under section 1013 of the Impoundment Control Act of 1974.

The message also announced that the President pro tempore, pursuant to Public Law 93-526, appointed Mr. Nelson and Mr. Weicker as members on the part

of the Senate, of the National Study Commission on Records and Documents of Federal Officials.

The message also announced that the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law 61-435, appointed Mr. Dole to the National Forest Reservation Commission in lieu of Mr. Aiken, retired.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 4481, EMERGENCY EMPLOY-MENT APPROPRIATIONS FOR FIS-CAL YEAR 1975

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 4481) making emergency employment appropriations for the fiscal year 1975, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlemen from Texas? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. Mahon, Whitten, Sikes, Passman, Evins of Tennessee, Boland, Flood, Steed, Slack, McFall, Yates, Cederberg, Michel, Conte, Myers of Indiana, and Miller of Ohio.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 6096, AUTHORIZING FUNDS FOR HU-MANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND EVACUATION IN VIETNAM

Mr. MORGAN submitted the following conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 6096) to authorize funds for humanitarian assistance and evacuation programs in Vietnam and to clarify restrictions on the availability of funds for the use of U.S. Armed Forces in Indochina, and for other purposes:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 94-176)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 6096) to authorize funds for humanitarian assistance and evacuation programs in Vietnam and to clarify restrictions on the availability of funds for the use of United States Armed Forces in Indochina, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate to the text of the bill and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following: